

# *Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000–1300*

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In medieval rhetoric and memory, *invention* holds pride of place as the process of discovery leading to the composition of an argument or narrative.<sup>1</sup> Recent studies of medieval hagiographic texts and pictures have emphasized the conventionality of *invention*, pointing to common plots and *topoi* designed to lend even the most poorly documented saint's life an air of authenticity.<sup>2</sup> But if individual building blocks of hagiographic narrative usually conform to a familiar pattern, an investigation of a saint's life over the course of three centuries reveals another dimension of medieval *invention*.<sup>3</sup> Far from static, the plot of a saint's *vita* is continually elaborated over time in response to contemporary demands of its audience. This dynamic aspect of *invention* is particularly significant within the hagiographic context, because, beyond its rhetorical connotations, *invention* denotes the revelation and rediscovery of a saint's relics,<sup>4</sup> the very process by

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A List of Abbreviations is found at the end of this article.

<sup>1</sup> For *invention* in medieval rhetoric and its basis in Cicero, see J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), esp. 9–11, 89–132. On the medieval conception of *invention* within the process of memory see M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. 194–95.

<sup>2</sup> For conventionality in pictorial hagiography, see C. Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, Codices Selecti, LXXXIII (Graz, 1988), 9 ff; idem, "Picturing the Text," *Art History* 13 (1990), 1–33, esp. 3 ff; M. Carrasco, "Spirituality and Historicity in Pictorial Hagiography: Two Miracles by St. Albinus of Angers," *Art History* 12 (1989), 1–21, esp. 1–2; and N. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), esp. 155–56. For the typology of hagiographic texts, see J. Earl, "Typology and Iconographic Style in Early Medieval Hagiography," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 8 (1975), 15–46; B. de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et Historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème," in *Recueil d'hagiographie*, SubsHag 61 (Brussels, 1977), 136–66, esp. 153 ff; idem, "L'écriture sainte dans l'hagiographie monastique du haut Moyen-Age," *Settimane di studi medievali* 10 (Spoleto, 1963), 103–28; and H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921), 153 f, 239 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the duality of invention as a process of creativity and recollection of the commonplace, see R. McKeon, "Creativity and the Commonplace," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 6 (1973), 199–210, repr. in *Rhetoric: Essays in Invention and Discovery*, ed. M. Backman (Woodbridge, Conn., 1987), 25–36.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. ThLL 6.2, 152, ll. 70–71 and 153, ll. 20–23; A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Mediæ Aevi*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1975), 506; M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen-Age Occidental, Fasc. 33 (Turnhout, 1979), 77–80.

which sacred history is extended into the present to confirm the saint's continuing patronage of a given community.<sup>5</sup>

A striking case study in the mutability of hagiographic *invention* is presented by St. Mark the Evangelist in his dual incarnation as apostle of the church of Aquileia and civic patron of Venice. These two cities produced at least seven different pictorial versions of Mark's alleged mission to the region in the course of an acrimonious dispute waged over political and ecclesiastical primacy in the Upper Adriatic between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. In contrast to other saints in Western Europe for whom pictorial *vita* were produced during the same period exclusively as illustrations to texts in manuscripts, the Adriatic versions of Mark's legend are found primarily in the monumental art of the two rival *loca sancta* of the region: the Basilica Patriarcale of Aquileia, and the Basilica Ducale of San Marco in Venice.

The two churches fulfilled distinct functions, which affected the way each city appropriated the evangelist to invent a sacred past for itself. Aquileia's Basilica Patriarcale served as the archiepiscopal cathedral for the province of Venetia et Istria as well as the burial place of its first bishop and martyr, St. Hermagoras. Thus, Aquileia's primary motivation for orchestrating the cult of Mark was to redate the foundation of its church to the apostolic era and, consequently, to establish its credentials as a patriarchal see. Over time, the pursuit of secular authority in the same region by Frankish and German emperors provided a significant but secondary impetus for the promotion of Mark's connection with Aquileia.

The Basilica of San Marco, on the other hand, was designed to replace the evangelist's martyrium in Alexandria. It also served initially as the private chapel of the doge, and then by the eleventh century as the state church of Venice.<sup>6</sup> Aquileia had hoped to enhance the status of an already venerable ecclesiastical foundation. Following the successful theft of the evangelist's relics from Alexandria in 828–829, the younger Venice now sought both to assimilate the history of Aquileia, the "First Venice," and to identify itself more directly with Mark as patron of its government. Venice also wanted to legitimize its acquisition of Mark's relics. To that end, its apologists of the eleventh century alleged that the Venetian-controlled patriarchate of Grado had inherited Aquileia's spiritual authority after the Lombard invasion of 568. But two more potent arguments binding Venice to St. Mark were formulated only in the thirteenth century when the city sought to bolster its pretensions to ascendancy on the world stage. The *Apparitio*, the miraculous *invention* of the relics, and the *Praedestinatio*, prophesying the translation of Mark to Venice, supplied divine sanction for the city's possession of Mark's relics and the exercise of power in his name.

Walter Lenel, Roberto Cessi, and Otto Demus have already documented the rival claims made on Mark in texts during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>7</sup> However, none of these writers has adequately assessed the use of pictorial narrative as an independent

<sup>5</sup>Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, SubsHag 20 (Brussels, 1933), 73–91; N. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des Saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975), 206 ff; Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, 99–100; P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saint: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1982), 91–93; and P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990), 69–70.

<sup>6</sup>San Marco became the cathedral of Venice only in 1807. See Demus, *The Church*, 4.

<sup>7</sup>R. Cessi, "Nova Aquileia," *AttiVen* 88 (1928–29), 542–94; Demus, *The Church*, 19–44; Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien*, 23–99.

form of argument in this dispute. My own account of the evolving cult of St. Mark in Aquileia and Venice considers the pictorial evidence within historical and architectural contexts and proposes a rationale for each new phase of hagiographic *invention*. Before introducing the pictorial narratives, it will be necessary to sketch briefly how and why Mark was adopted as the apostle of Venetia and the role he played in the subsequent conflict between Aquileia and Venice at the end of the eighth century.

### *I. Mark as Apostle of Aquileia, Grado, and Venice*

Mark's mission to Aquileia is first fully described in the *Passio* of Hermagoras and Fortunatus.<sup>8</sup> St. Peter himself sent Mark the Evangelist to preach the Gospel at Aquileia. Upon Mark's departure for Alexandria, his disciple Hermagoras was elected as his successor and taken to Rome to be consecrated by Peter as first bishop of the "province of Italy" (the Roman region of Venetia et Istria and later, the Lombard kingdom of Italy). After organizing the church and converting most of the population, Hermagoras and his designated successor, Fortunatus, were executed and buried outside the walls of the city.

Mark's alleged mission to Aquileia is certainly possible, but no archaeological or documentary evidence supports it.<sup>9</sup> Like many Italian foundation legends, the tradition connecting Mark with the church of Aquileia was probably formulated for political motives sometime between the sixth and the late eighth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Mark proved to be a particularly apt choice as founder since he justified Aquileia's claim to exercise the sole patriarchal (suprametropolitan) authority over the province of Venice and Istria.

Initially an honorific epithet, the title of patriarch came to be associated between the late fourth and sixth centuries with the suprametropolitan jurisdiction of archbishops presiding over the five major cities of the late Roman Empire: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> Although the papacy rejected the claims of Con-

<sup>8</sup>ActaSS, Julii III, 238 ff. The earliest texts are contained in eleventh- or twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts, the passionnal in the State Library of Namur (Codex 53) and in the Aquileian breviaries of the Biblioteca del Museo Archeologico at Cividale del Friuli (Codex n. 91) and the Biblioteca Guarneriana in San Daniele del Friuli (Codex n. 4). Published respectively in *AnalBoll* 2 (1883), 311 ff; Egger, "Der Heilige Hermagoras," esp. 40–55; G. Vale, *I Santi Ermacora e Fortunato nella liturgia* (Udine, 1910) and G. C. Menis, "La 'Passio' dei santi Ermacora e Fortunato nel cod. n. 4 della biblioteca Guarneriana," *Studi di letteratura popolare friulana* 1 (1969), 15–49. An abbreviated account of the legend was in existence by the time of the Synod of Mantua in 827: MGH, *Legum, Sectio III: Concilia*, Tom. II: *Concilia aevi karolini*, I, pars I, 583–89. Recent discussions of the legend's origins include Rajko Bratož, *Krščanstvo u Ogleju in na Vzhodnem območju oglejske Cerkve od Zacetkov do Nastora verske svobode* (= "Christianity in Aquileia and the Eastern Influential Area of the Aquileian Church from its Beginnings to the Introduction of Religious Freedom"), Serbo-Croatian with English summary (Ljubljana, 1986), 357 ff and S. Tramontin, "Origini e sviluppi della legenda marciana," *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, ed. F. Tonon (Venice, 1987), 167–86.

<sup>9</sup>On Mark's career and the development of later legends, see "Marco, Evangelista, santo," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 7, cc. 711–38; S. Tramontin, "Origini e sviluppi," 167–86; A. Niero, "Il culto di S. Marco (da Alessandria a Venezia)" *AntAltAdr* 38 (1992), 15–40. As Tramontin points out, the Aquileian tradition was first questioned by Pio Paschini in 1904 and subsequent scholarship has followed Paschini's lead. A notable exception is Giorgio Fedalto: see, e.g., "Dalla predicazione apostolica in Dalmazia ed Illirico alla Tradizione Marciana Aquileiese: Considerazioni e Problemi," *AntAltAdr* 26 (1984), I, 237–59.

<sup>10</sup>On this genre of apostolic foundation myth, see Egger, "Der heilige Hermagoras," 230–32; Demus, *The Church*, 3–7, 30 ff; J.-C. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome, 1988), 560–64, 689 f.

<sup>11</sup>T. Kane, *The Jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of the Major Sees in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Canon Law Studies 276) (Washington, D.C., 1949), esp. 3–31; H. Fuhrmann, "Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher

stantinople and Jerusalem to exercise true patriarchal—suprametropolitan—authority, because neither see was an apostolic or Petrine foundation, the five were eventually canonized as the “pentarchy” by Justinian I (527–565). While the pope was the only true patriarch in the West, toward the end of the same century the title was applied honorifically to a number of Western archbishoprics, including Arles, Besançon, Lyon, Bourges, Toledo, Milan, Ravenna, and Aquileia.<sup>12</sup>

What distinguished Aquileia from these churches was its alleged apostolic foundation. Schmidinger proposed that Aquileia’s choice of the evangelist Mark was fostered by close trade relations between Aquileia and Alexandria in late antiquity.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Guglielmo Biasutti and Sergio Tavano have pointed to the ecclesiastical ties between the two cities.<sup>14</sup> But Biasutti is more convincing when he finds in the Marcian foundation a tangible expression of Aquileian allegiance to the papacy.<sup>15</sup> In light of Rome’s insistence on Petrine authorization as the basis for true patriarchal authority, Aquileia’s choice of Peter’s disciple, Mark, provides a logical argument for its assumption of the higher dignity. Just as the church of Alexandria was founded by the evangelist at the behest of Peter, so Aquileia claimed that Mark had been sent by Peter to found another daughter church of the Apostolic See. Aquileia’s argument was all the more plausible because it was known that Mark had spent time with Peter in Italy and had written his Gospel for the “Italians” in Rome.<sup>16</sup>

The historical moment Aquileia chose to vaunt its apostolic pretensions continues to be debated. Rudolf Egger was among the first scholars to articulate the commonly accepted view that Mark’s mission to Aquileia was invented toward the mid-sixth century to support the Aquileian bishop’s autonomy from Rome.<sup>17</sup> This claim would have been prompted by the Council of Aquileia in 558, when Bishop Paulinus I (557–569) broke with the papacy in supporting the so-called Three Chapters condemned by Justinian in 543.<sup>18</sup> At this time, Egger reasoned, Paulinus would also have asserted his right to the title of patriarch of Venice and Istria, a presumption for which he was condemned by Pope Pelagius I (556–560) in a letter to the patrician John.<sup>19</sup> However, while Aquileian

Patriarchate, I. Teil,” *ZSav* 70 (1953), 112–76, especially 112–42; V. Peri, “Aquileia nella trasformazione storica del titolo patriarcale,” *AntAltAdr* 38 (1992), 41–63.

<sup>12</sup>Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien*, 100 ff; H. Fuhrmann, “Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate, II. Teil,” *ZSav* 71 (1954), 1–84, esp. 49–50; Peri, “Aquileia,” 54–56.

<sup>13</sup>H. Schmidinger, *Patriarch und Landesherr: Die weltliche Herrschaft der Patriarchen von Aquileia bis zum Ende der Staufer* (Graz-Cologne, 1954), 4.

<sup>14</sup>S. Tavano, *Aquileia cristiana = AntAltAdr* 3 (1973), esp. 11–16; G. Biasutti, “Aquileia e la Chiesa di Alessandria,” *AntAltAdr* 12 (1977), I, 215–29.

<sup>15</sup>*La tradizione marciana Aquileiese* (Udine, 1959), 39, note 16.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Demus, *The Church*, 10; Tramontin, “Origini e sviluppi,” 173.

<sup>17</sup>Egger, “Der Heilige Hermagoras,” 226. Tavano and Cuscito, though they reject Egger’s thesis that Hermagoras was invented by scribal error, concur with his view that the legend was created in conjunction with the Aquileian schism: S. Tavano, “Il culto di San Marco a Grado,” in *Scritti Storici in Memoria di Paolo Lino Zovatto* (Milan, 1972), 202–3; G. Cuscito, *Il primo cristianesimo nella “Venetia et Histria”—Indagine ed ipotesi* (Udine, 1986), 2 ff. Most other Italian scholars distinguish between the dating of the Marcian tradition to the sixth century, and the *Passio* text, connecting Mark and Hermagoras, to the eighth century: e.g., S. Tramontin, “Origini e sviluppi,” 167 ff, and P. Paschini, “Le fasi di una leggenda Aquileiese,” *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 8 (1954), 161–84.

<sup>18</sup>See G. Cuscito, “Aquileia e Bisanzio nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli,” *AntAltAdr* 12 (1977), 231–62.

<sup>19</sup>According to Egger, “Der Heilige Hermagoras,” 226, Pelagius voices opposition to the Aquileian claim to apostolicity in his letter of 558/60 to the Venetian patrician John, when he refers to the “confictes appro-

pretensions to the patriarchal dignity are clear at this time, neither the pope's letter nor any other source prior to the late eighth century mentions an apostolic foundation as supporting evidence. Aquileia's apostolic tradition is more likely a product of the internal schism within the Aquileian church in the seventh century and the subsequent advent of the Franks to political ascendancy in North Italy.

Seeds of disunity had been sown within the Upper Adriatic province as early as the sixth century in the aftermath of the Lombard invasion.<sup>20</sup> When Aquileia fell to the Lombards in 568, Bishop Paulinus I moved his church to the neighboring island of Grado, then a Byzantine protectorate. The Aquileian clergy remained there until the death of Bishop Severus in 610, when the election of his successor provoked an internal schism over the Three Chapters. Subsequently, one faction reestablished the bishopric at Aquileia with Lombard support, while the other remained at Grado with the backing of the Byzantine exarch. For the next two centuries the rival bishoprics coexisted relatively peacefully, each exercising authority within the respective boundaries of the Lombard and Byzantine administrations. But at the end of the eighth century, Frankish conquests in North Italy and Istria upset the political equilibrium.

Charlemagne, following his army's occupation of Friuli in the early 780s, strengthened the authority of the Aquileian see under his appointees, Paulinus II (787–02), Ursus (802–811), and Maxentius (811–837). Recognizing Aquileia's political significance, Charlemagne supported its patriarchal title, promoted the extension of its authority into Istrian territory occupied by his troops in 788, and granted funds to Maxentius for the rebuilding of the city and its cathedral, which had been abandoned in the seventh century in favor of the more secure Lombard cities of Cormons and Cividale.<sup>21</sup>

It is during this period that official documents and chronicles first consistently record the patriarchal title after a long hiatus.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, Mark's apostolic mission—the canonical basis for the title—is first outlined by Paul the Deacon in his *Liber de Episcopis Mettensisibus*, a work commissioned between 783 and 786 by Bishop Angilram of Metz and Charlemagne.<sup>23</sup> In his introduction to the episcopal list, Paul mentions a series of bishoprics founded at the behest of St. Peter to set the stage for the narration of the foundation of the see of Metz by the apostle's disciple, Clement. In this context, Paul records that Mark, the most distinguished of Peter's disciples, was sent to Aquileia, and prior to returning

bationes" of Bishop Paulinus. Cf. *Epistola 24*, "Pelagius Iohanni Patricio Caburtario," ed. P. Gassó, *Pelagi I Papae: Epistulae quae supersunt*, Scripta et Documenta, 8 (Montserrat, 1956), 1.5.

<sup>20</sup> For a convenient summary, see Demus, *The Church*, 30–44.

<sup>21</sup> See. W. Dorigo, "L'architettura della basilica patriarcale," *AntAltAdr* 38 (1992), 191–213; S. Tavano, "San Paolino e la Sede Patriarcale," *AntAltAdr* 28 (1986), 268 ff; Brusin and Lorenzoni, *L'arte del Patriarcato*, 19 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien*, 100 ff. The first reference to the title from this period appears in the *Historia Langobardorum* composed in the 780s by the Friulian chronicler, Paul the Deacon, who attributes the innovation to Paulinus I. *Historia Langobardorum* (= *De Gestis Langobardorum*), Bk. II.10, ed. in MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, XLVIII, 92: "Qui reges eo tempore Francis imperabant, et de Benedicto Papa deque Paolo Aquileiensi Patriarcha. . . . Aquileiensi quoque civitati eiusque populis beatus Paulus patriarcha praeerat." On the other hand, an outsider, Notker Balbulus comments on the novelty of the patriarchal title in his *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, composed in the mid-ninth century. Speaking of Charlemagne's visit to Cividale in 787, he records that ". . . eodem tempore episcopus civitatis illius aut, ut modernorum loquar consuetudine, patriarcha occasui vit(a)e propinquaret." *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatori*, ed. H. Haefele in MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s. XII, 85, ll. 14–15.

<sup>23</sup> MGH, *Scriptores*, II, 260–70.

to Peter and setting off for Alexandria, he selected Hermagoras to officiate in his place.<sup>24</sup> Here, *in nuccia*, is the apostolic succession of the Aquileian bishopric—from Peter to Mark to Hermagoras.<sup>25</sup>

At the Synod of Mantua in 827, the legend itself was successfully adduced as evidence for Aquileia's primacy over the province of Venice and Istria.<sup>26</sup> With papal sanction of Aquileia's claim, Grado would have been reduced to a mere parish, had it not been for the intervention of Venice.

Established as the seat of the Dogate at the end of the eighth century, Venice had found itself caught between Byzantine and Carolingian forces vying for control of the Upper Adriatic.<sup>27</sup> After a period of internal unrest and shifting allegiances, Venice emerged as a strong autonomous power under the Partecipaci doges, Agnellus and Justinian (810–829), reasserting its authority over the islands and coast of the Upper Adriatic lagoon and the episcopal office of Grado. It was naturally unwilling to tolerate ecclesiastical interference from Aquileia, and thus responded within a year of the synod by acquiring the relics of St. Mark from Alexandria.<sup>28</sup> By substituting this “Italian” patron for the Eastern warrior saint, Theodore, Venice simultaneously undermined the basis of Aquileian apostolicity and forged an identity independent from both Carolingians and Byzantines.<sup>29</sup>

During the next four centuries the papacy vacillated, succumbing alternately to pressure from Venice and then from Frankish or German rulers upholding the ecclesiastical claims of Venice-Grado and Aquileia, respectively. Although the recognition of Aquileia's apostolic authority at Mantua was short-lived, it regained papal approval during two periods of political resurgence for the ancient metropolitan see: first under Patriarch Poppo at the beginning of the eleventh century, and then, at the end of the twelfth century under Ulrich II. In both instances, the case for Aquileian primacy is made in pictures at the Basilica Patriarcale, and Venice responds in kind, renewing its version of the

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 261, ll. 12–14: “Marcum vero, qui praecipuus inter eius discipulos habetur, Aquilegiam destinavit, quibus cum Hermagoram, suum comitem, Marcus praefecisset, ad beatum Petrum reversus, ab eo nihilominus, Alexandriam missus est.”

<sup>25</sup>Thereafter, Carolingian diplomas confirm unequivocally the patriarchal title and its supporting apostolic foundation. In 792, one diploma refers to Paulinus II as “vir venerabilis Paulinus sanctae Aquileiensis ecclesie patriarcha, que est in honore sanctae dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae vel sancti Petri principis Apostolorum sive sancti Marci constructa,” while another calls Paulinus “patriarcha Aquileiensis ecclesie que est in honore sancti Petri principis apostolorum vel sancti Hermachore martiris Christi constructa.” See MGH, *Diplomata Karolinorum*, I, nos. 174 and 175.

<sup>26</sup>MGH, *Concilia aevi karolini*, I, pars 1, 589.

<sup>27</sup>H. Kretschmeyer, *Geschichte von Venedig* (Gotha, 1905), I, 51–66; R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan, 1944), I, 22–40.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. A. Pertusi, “L'impero bizantino nell'alto Adriatico,” in *Le origini di Venezia* (Florence, 1964), 59–93, repr. in *Saggi Veneto-Bizantini*, Civiltà veneziana, Saggi 37 (Venice, 1990), 33–65, esp. 48–51.

<sup>29</sup>The anti-Aquileian argument of the translation was first recognized by A. Gfrörer, “Storia di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1084,” *AVen* 13 (1877), 291–349, especially 331: “L'acquisto del corpo di San Marco evangelista è evidentemente in relazione alle decisioni del concilio di Mantova . . . esso fu un'arma di difesa, diretta a sventare i tristi effetti, già previsti, del suddetto concilio.” Cf. Kretschmeyer, *Geschichte von Venedig*, I, 65; Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, I, 37; Demus, *The Church*, 34 f; P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990), 88–94. For the translation's significance as a statement of autonomy from Byzantium, see G. Pavanello, “San Marco nella leggenda e nella storia,” *Rivista della Città di Venezia* 7 (1928), 293–324, especially 294; Demus, *The Church*, 20–21; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 91–92.

apostolic legend in the enamels of the Pala d’Oro and the mosaics in the Basilica of San Marco.

## *II. Apostolic Succession in the Apse of Aquileia Cathedral*

Created for Patriarch Poppo (1019–44) over two centuries after the Carolingian *renovatio* of Aquileia, the frescoes in the central apse of the city’s cathedral present the earliest pictorial argument for the spiritual and temporal primacy of Aquileia in the Upper Adriatic (Plan 1, Fig. 1).<sup>30</sup> The two-register composition is conceived as a triumphal portrait of the Early Christian church of Aquileia, glossed with a series of smaller-scale images of the contemporary patriarch and the Salian Dynasty. The church’s primary dedication to the *Genetrix Dei* is celebrated in the center of the conch by the Madonna and Child enthroned within a mandorla from which emerge the Four Living Creatures. Probably originating in post-Iconoclastic Byzantium,<sup>31</sup> this rare *Majestas* of the Madonna and Child depicts simultaneously the Incarnation of Christ and the Incarnation of the Word in the form of the Four Gospels held out by the Living Creatures, and may, in the Aquileian context, be seen as an allusion to the Gospel that Mark wrote in Rome and first preached at Aquileia at the behest of Peter.

It is the hierarchy of witnesses, however, who establish most vividly Aquileia’s claim to apostolicity.<sup>32</sup> Following a strict pictorial grammar, Mark and Hermagoras occupy the two key positions on either side of the Theophany, normally occupied by Peter and Paul in Roman apse compositions and their derivatives. Mark naturally stands in the most favored position at Christ’s right hand as apostle and founder of the church of Aquileia; while Hermagoras, paired with him across the central axis, appears in the second position as protoepiscopus of Aquileia. Moving out from the center, Hermagoras’ immediate successor Hilary is paired with his deacon and co-martyr Fortunatus. Then follow Hilary’s deacon, Tatian, and Euphemia, the titular saint of Grado Cathedral.

Within the ranks of these Early Christian patrons of Aquileia appears a gallery of smaller contemporary portraits. Poppo, distinguished by a square nimbus, stands be-

<sup>30</sup>On the Popponian decoration of the apse, see M. C. Cavalieri, “L'affresco absidale della basilica patriarcale di Aquileia,” *BA* 61 (1976), 1–11; P. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190* (Munich, 1983), 107–08, 226–27; D. dalla Barba Brusin and G. Lorenzoni, *L'arte del Patriarcato di Aquileia* (Padua, 1968), 41 ff; C. Morgagni-Schiffrer, “Gli affreschi medioevali della basilica patriarcale,” *AntAltAdr* 1 (1972), 323 ff; A. Morassi, “La pittura e la scultura nella basilica,” in *La basilica*, 306 ff. For the dedicatory inscription, see most recently Giuseppe Cuscito, “Le epigrafe dei Patriarchi nella Basilica di Aquileia,” *AntAltAdr* 38 (1992), 155–73, especially 162–64.

<sup>31</sup>The earliest parallel that I have found is a miniature illustrating the Gospel prefaces in a tenth-century Byzantine manuscript, Brescia, Biblioteca Communale, Cod. A VI.26, fol. 14r. See G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979), 111 ff and R. Nelson, *The Iconography of the Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), 60–61. Galavaris connects the Brescia image with Epiphanius’ preface emphasizing the theme of the Incarnation. The iconography may have originated immediately after Iconoclasm though, for the standing image of the Theotokos is framed by bust-length portraits of the Evangelists on a series of Byzantine cross reliquaries most recently ascribed to the early ninth century. See A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 94–125, figs. 27b and 33.

<sup>32</sup>The most complete record of the inscriptions identifying these figures is provided by Giandomenico Bertoli in *Le antichità di Aquileia* (Venice, 1739), 369–73, who was able to document the state of the apse prior to its overpainting in 1733. Hilary is the only saint in the conch for which no evidence of the inscription is known, but Bertoli identified the figure probably on the basis of his association with the deacon Tatian, inscribed in Bertoli’s engraving, “. . . IANUS.”

tween Hilary and Tatian to offer a model of the church before the Madonna and Child; a fifth, poorly preserved figure probably portraying the recently deceased emperor, Henry II, is presented by St. Mark.<sup>33</sup> On the opposite side appear three members of the reigning imperial family: Emperor Conrad II, recorded in the inscription as participating in the dedication, and his son Henry III are presented by Hermagoras, while his wife Gisela flanks the only female patron, Euphemia.

The lower zone of the apse completes the picture of the Aquileian church with eight of its most important Early Christian martyrs. Paired across the central axis, moving out from the center we find: Felix and Fortunatus; Largus and Dionysius; an unidentified saint and Primigenius; and finally, Chrysogonus and Anastasia.<sup>34</sup>

The apse program makes three political statements. First, the hierarchy of saints, a pictorial equivalent to an episcopal catalogue, documents Poppo's patriarchal authority. Mark's presence in the most favored position establishes Aquileia's claim to apostolicity. The *pallium* worn by Hermagoras and Hilary, the first two bishops of the see, demonstrates Poppo's right to exercise metropolitan authority over Venetia et Istria.<sup>35</sup>

The portraits of the imperial family form a second argument. Departing from conventional medieval apse compositions in which martyrs or bishops come before the enthroned Christ or the Virgin, the German monarchy audaciously inserts itself into the heavenly cortege. This underlines the imperial role not only in Poppo's appointment but also, more importantly, in the promotion of Aquileia's primacy in the Upper Adriatic as a counterbalance to the rival see of Grado and the Veneto-Byzantine sphere of influence.<sup>36</sup>

St. Euphemia constitutes a third reference to contemporary politics. Aquileia connected her with three local female disciples of Hermagoras: Dorothy, Erasma, and Thecla,<sup>37</sup> but the famous patron of Orthodoxy proclaimed at the Council of Chalcedon was also the titular saint of the new cathedral of Grado constructed by Patriarch Elias to serve the Aquileian church after the Lombard invasion of 568.<sup>38</sup> The anomalous presence

<sup>33</sup> See Cavalieri, "L'affresco absidale," 2, and Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 226. Henry II would provide a suitable pendant to his son, because he too was very supportive of Poppo and was responsible for his appointment to the patriarchate. The identification of the figure as Henry III by Bertoli, *Antichità*, 369, was accepted by Morassi in *La basilica*, 306. This possibility should be ruled out on grounds that the prince, identified by inscription, already appears on the right-hand side of the conch, and in any case would have to be rendered as a young boy rather than the adult portrayed here. A second alternative, Count Aribert of Carinthia, has been proposed by Swoboda, *Der Dom*, 85, note 5 and accepted by O. Demus, *Romanesque Murial Painting* (London, 1970) and S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado: Storia, Arte, Cultura* (Trieste, 1986). However, Cavalieri points out that Poppo would not have been likely to portray the count who had recently challenged his own temporal authority in Friuli.

<sup>34</sup> A church was dedicated to Felix and Fortunatus at Aquileia as early as the fourth century; see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, V, 588–91. Largo and Dionysius were said to be followers of Hilary, the second Bishop of Aquileia. The identity of Primigenius is uncertain but there was a patriarch of that name at Grado from 628 to 647. According to the *Passio* of Anastasia, Chrysogonus instructed Anastasia in the faith and both were martyred at Aquileia under Diocletian; see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I, 1041–49, and IV, 306–8.

<sup>35</sup> On the significance of the pallium, see below, p. 68.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Cavalieri, "L'affresco absidale," 2 and 9, note 51.

<sup>37</sup> In a *Passio* dating no earlier than the ninth century, Euphemia is linked with these Eastern martyrs, all of whom are said to have been baptized and buried by Hermagoras in Aquileia during the reign of Diocletian. See *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, V, 154–60, 163–64, and *ActaSS* (1756) *Septembris*, I, 605–8.

<sup>38</sup> *La basilica*, 372; P. Zovatto, "La basilica di Sant'Eufemia di Grado," *Palladio*, n.s. 2 (1952), 112–25, esp. 122, note 5; Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado*, 308–9.

of this female saint in the conch, then, may best be explained as a pictorial appropriation of Grado's patron by Aquileia.

The impetus for these pictorial arguments is easily discovered within the politics of Patriarch Poppo's reign. A close confidant of Conrad II, he supported the German emperor's territorial claims in North Italy, consolidating secular and spiritual authority in a strong, centralized patriarchal administration at Aquileia. He applied both military and diplomatic means to resolve the ecclesiastical dispute with Venice-Grado. In 1024 he took the rival see of Grado by force and in 1027, precisely 200 years after the Synod of Mantua, he convinced Pope John XIX to uphold his predecessor's decision to recognize Aquileia as "capud (sic) et metropolim tocius (sic) Venecie," while reducing Grado to a mere parish.<sup>39</sup>

The political and ecclesiastical revival of Aquileia was celebrated four years later with the reconsecration of the Basilica Patriarcale by Patriarch Poppo in the presence of twelve bishops and two cardinal legates in 1031. Motivated by the desire both to provide a suitable setting for the relics of Hermagoras and Fortunatus, recently recovered during the siege of Grado in 1024, and to visually enhance the revitalization of his see, Poppo had the basilica extensively reconstructed, reshaping the east end to form the present apsidal hall crypt and sanctuary apse above it.<sup>40</sup>

The morphology of the architecture like the decoration of the new apse emphasizes the apostolic roots of Poppo's new-found patriarchal authority. As Hans Buchwald has pointed out, the selection of Corinthian capitals for the nave arcades, based on antique *spolia* employed in the transept, and particular details of the ground plan of the renovated church—the projecting transept and the nonstructural colonnades screening off the ends of the transept—appear to allude to the most prominent apostle's church in Western Christendom, the Early Christian basilica of St. Peter's in Rome. On this basis, Buchwald convincingly argues that "Poppo wanted to stress his spiritual affinity to the papacy. . . . The church could serve as a visual demonstration underlining the fact that his patriarchy had (supposedly) been founded by the Apostle Mark as the papacy had been founded by the Apostle Peter."<sup>41</sup>

### *III. The Pala d'Oro and Apse of San Marco: Apostolicity by Adoption*

Venice responded promptly to Aquileia's forceful assertions with military action and pictorial arguments of its own. In 1044, two years after Poppo's death, Venetian forces successfully repulsed the Aquileian invaders from Grado. Subsequently, Benedict IX recognized Ursus of Grado as "Patriarch of the Church of Grado, the New Aquileia," while

<sup>39</sup> MGH, *Legum, Sectio IV: Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, no. 38, 82–84; P. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia, VII: Venetia et Histria*, pars I (Berlin, 1923), no. 53, 29.

<sup>40</sup> In contrast to the conventional view that the present apsidal hall crypt and sanctuary apse originate under Maxentius, I have argued on the basis of an inscription and morphological considerations that both structures are products of the early eleventh-century renovations. See Dale, "The Crypt," 23–44. Dorigo has independently arrived at similar conclusions in "L'architettura della Basilica Patriarcale di Aquileia," 200–205. For arguments in favor of the Carolingian dating, see S. Tavano, "San Paolino e la Sede Patriarcale," 268 ff, with previous literature.

<sup>41</sup> H. Buchwald, "Eleventh-Century Corinthian Palmette Capitals in the Region of Aquileia," *ArtB* 48 (1966), 147 ff, esp. 156.

Aquileia's bishop was reduced to the status of "praesul Foroiuliensis."<sup>42</sup> Leo IX, in his "Constitutions" of 1053, further recognized Grado as "totius Venetiae et Istriae caput et metropolis," and this status Grado retained until the end of the twelfth century.<sup>43</sup> Venetian apologists further sought to legitimize the city's claim on Mark in a series of chronicles and forged documents. To cite two of the more important claims: Mark's connection with Venice-Grado was enhanced by the reputed donation of the evangelist's cathedra to Grado by the emperor Heraclius, and the papacy was said to have sanctioned the definitive translation of the see of Aquileia to Grado—"Aquileia Nova"—at the synod held by Helias in Grado in 579.<sup>44</sup>

The construction of the present Basilica of San Marco under Domenico Contarini (1042–71) and his immediate successors culminates the Venetian response to Poppo (Plan 2). Poppo had modeled his new church on the apostolic basilicas of Rome and had stressed his allegiance to both papacy and German empire in the decoration of the apse. The doges of Venice likewise emphasized the apostolic idea through architecture, but in keeping with their close political ties to the East, chose a Byzantine imperial model for their ducal chapel, the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.<sup>45</sup> An essential modification of the Byzantine model was the inclusion of a Western-style hall crypt, which rivaled that of Aquileia and highlighted the newly "invented" relics of St. Mark.<sup>46</sup>

The prestige of Byzantine court culture and apostolic patronage were also evoked in the lavish mosaic decoration and liturgical furnishings of the new basilica, executed initially by Byzantine craftsmen using imported models. By the end of the twelfth century, no less than three distinct pictorial narratives of Mark's Adriatic mission had been composed.

The early twelfth-century mosaics in the upper zone of the hemicycle of the central apse, immediately beneath the enthroned Pantocrator, constitute the simplest statement of Mark's role in the foundation of the Venetian church (Plan 2.1; Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>47</sup> In contrast to the rigid hierarchy of saints in the apse of Aquileia, the Venetian composition acts out the apostolic succession with three of the four figures.<sup>48</sup> Peter, the initiator of the mission to Aquileia and the patron of the Gospel, stands to the left of the central window and turns toward his disciple on the opposite side to present the Gospel book in his outstretched left arm, while raising his right in benediction. Mark, standing frontally

<sup>42</sup>Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 1113–15.

<sup>43</sup>P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885), I, no. 4295, 545.

<sup>44</sup>On the ivories that have been connected with the presumed cathedra of Mark, see S. Tavano, "Le cattedre di Grado e le culture artistiche del Mediterraneo orientale," *AntAltAdr* 12 (1977), 445–89 and K. Weitzmann, "The Ivories of the So-called Grado Chair," *DOP* 26 (1972), 43 ff, who convincingly refutes the theory. The translation is discussed below, 46–53.

<sup>45</sup>On San Marco and the Apostoleion of Constantinople, see Buchwald, "Eleventh-Century Corinthian Palmette Capitals," 157; Demus, *Mosaics*, I.1, 232 ff; and idem, *The Church*, 88 ff.

<sup>46</sup>On the *invention* or rediscovery of the relics of St. Mark, see Demus, *Mosaics*, II.1, 27 ff and below, section VI.

<sup>47</sup>The hemicycle mosaics are ascribed variously to the 1090s or, as seems more likely, the late 1110s following the earthquake and fire of 1106. Demus, *Mosaics*, I.1, 32–33; C. Rizzardi, *Mosaici altoadriatici: Il rapporto artistico Venezia-Bisanzio-Ravenna in età medievale* (Ravenna, 1985), 47–50; I. Andreescu-Treadgold, "Les Mosaïques del la lagune vénitienne aux environs de 1100," *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Athens, 1976), II, 15–30.

<sup>48</sup>As Demus, *ibid.*, 33, aptly puts it: "They are not only remembered and glorified as founding fathers, they actually enact the foundation."

between his mentor and his own disciple, Hermagoras, simultaneously fulfills two roles: with his outstretched right arm, he seems to complete Peter's action, by preparing to receive the Gospel book, while with his veiled left hand he holds out the Gospel to Hermagoras, who receives it with open arms. In contrast to Aquileia, where Hermagoras and Mark balance one another on opposite sides of the central axis, now the status of the evangelist is subtly enhanced by virtue of his position opposite Peter in the central pair. But, in conformity with the Aquileian apse, Hermagoras is distinguished from the togaclad apostles by episcopal vestments that confirm his position as first Bishop of Venetia.

Lest this whole-hearted acceptance of Hermagoras' primacy in the patriarchal succession be interpreted as Venetian deference to its contemporary rival, Aquileia, it must be recalled that Venetian sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries consistently accepted Mark's Aquileian mission in order to legitimize the future translation of the evangelist's relics "home" to Venice from Alexandria. At the same time, these sources claimed that Venice, through the patriarchate of Grado, which it had controlled from the ninth century on, officially inherited the authority and the relics from Aquileia when the see was transferred to Grado in the wake of the Lombard invasion of 568. Thus, Venice claimed both Hermagoras and Mark as its own patron saints.

Another purpose of the hemicycle was to advertise the possession of relics of the state's patrons and protectors. This is made clear both by the inclusion of Nicholas (Fig. 2), who has nothing to do with the Marcian narrative, and by the inscription above the four figures. A visual pendant to Hermagoras in costume and position, the figure of Nicholas documents the Venetian acquisition of his relics in the 1090s. But as patron of the Venetian navy, he was also an important military counterpart to Mark, the symbol of the Venetian state and church, and a potent protector against rival sea powers in Italy.<sup>49</sup> The inscription indicates that, by virtue of the presence of their relics, these saints were powerful patrons of the Venetian state and agents of its renewal: "It was right to display these four saints here, the care of whose bodies surpasses every other glory of the Venetians. Through them (Venice) is esteemed and prospers on land and sea, and it shines forth, renewed and complete. May it never be abandoned by these saints."<sup>50</sup>

Roughly contemporary with the apse mosaics, the lower section of the Pala d'Oro was commissioned from a Constantinopolitan workshop for the high altar of San Marco by Doge Ordelaffo Falier in 1105 (Plan 2.2; Plan 3; Fig. 4).<sup>51</sup> Although twice expanded

<sup>49</sup>A. Pertusi, "Venezia a Bisanzio: 1000–1204," *DOP* 33 (1979), 6–7. His presence in the apse may further signal the careful balance between competing ecclesiastical and lay interests achieved in the two-part accession rites from the time of Doge Domenico Selvo in 1071: San Nicolo al Lido served as the venue for the election of the doge by clergy and people, and the investiture took place at San Marco. See G. Fasoli, "Liturgia e ceremoniale ducale," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence, 1973), I, 265 and R. Cessi, "L'Investitura' ducale," *AttiVen* 126 (1967–68), 286–87.

<sup>50</sup>QUATTUOR HOS JURE FUIT HIC P(RO)PONERE CUR(E) CORPORIBUS QUORUM PRECELLIT HONOR VENETOR(UM). HIS VIGET HIS CRESCIT TERRAQ(UE) MARIQ(UE) NITESCIT INTEGER ET TOTUS SIT AB HIS NU(M)Q(UAN)Q(UE) RELICTUS."

<sup>51</sup>R. Polacco, "The Pala d'Oro," in *Patriarchal Basilica*, II, 227–38; idem, *Basilica d'Oro*, 151–59; S. Bettini, "Venice, the Pala d'Oro, and Constantinople," in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, ed. D. Buckton (Milan, 1984), 35 ff; M. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," *JÖB* 32 (1982), 273–79; O. Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro," *JÖBG* 16 (1967), 263 ff; J. de Luigi-Pomorisac, *Les Émaux byzantins de la Pala d'Oro de l'église de Saint-Marc à Venise* (Zurich, 1966), I, 14–43; H. R. Hahnloser, *Il tesoro di San Marco*, I: *La Pala d'Oro* (Florence, 1965), 33–38 and 89–93.

and reassembled—first under Doge Pietro Ziani (1205–29) in 1209 and then again, under Doge Andrea Dandolo in 1345, the program of Falier's pala remains largely intact. Following a scheme similar to that found in a series of Italian metalwork antependia beginning with the Carolingian gilded altar of St. Ambrose in Milan, the Falier section of the Pala d'Oro features a central image of Christ enthroned amid the Four Evangelists, flanked by ranks of single figures of angels, apostles, and prophets, and framed by narrative panels of the life of Christ and St. Mark.<sup>52</sup> Ten scenes from the Marcian legend are depicted in a series of square panels, which, contrary to their current disposition on the vertical frames of the lower pala, may have been displayed in a horizontal row at the base of the antependium. Such an arrangement seems to be confirmed by the organization of the repoussé antependium added to the high altar of San Marco in the late thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup> When this scheme is accepted for the twelfth-century pala, the narrative, both in terms of content and composition, resolves itself into three parts, balanced across the central axis. The first triptych establishes Mark's connection with the Upper Adriatic and the foundation of the church of Aquileia at the behest of Peter. The central four panels narrate the evangelist's mission to Alexandria. The final triptych focuses on the relics and their translation to Venice. Each of these three sections is based on a separate textual source, perhaps combined for the first time in the late eleventh-century liturgy of Venice: the Aquileian section derives from that church's *Passio* of Hermagoras and Fortunatus; the Egyptian career of the evangelist is based on the Latin and Greek texts of his Apostolate in Alexandria; and finally, the theft of the relics from Alexandria is based on Venice's own text of the *Translatio*.<sup>54</sup>

The first scene, Peter commissioning Mark to preach in Aquileia (Fig. 5), announces the apostolic theme.<sup>55</sup> As in most of the subsequent panels, an architectural frame comprising two towers and a crenellated archway establishes the urban setting. Peter, enthroned at left, turns toward Mark to confer upon him the *baculum* that symbolizes his

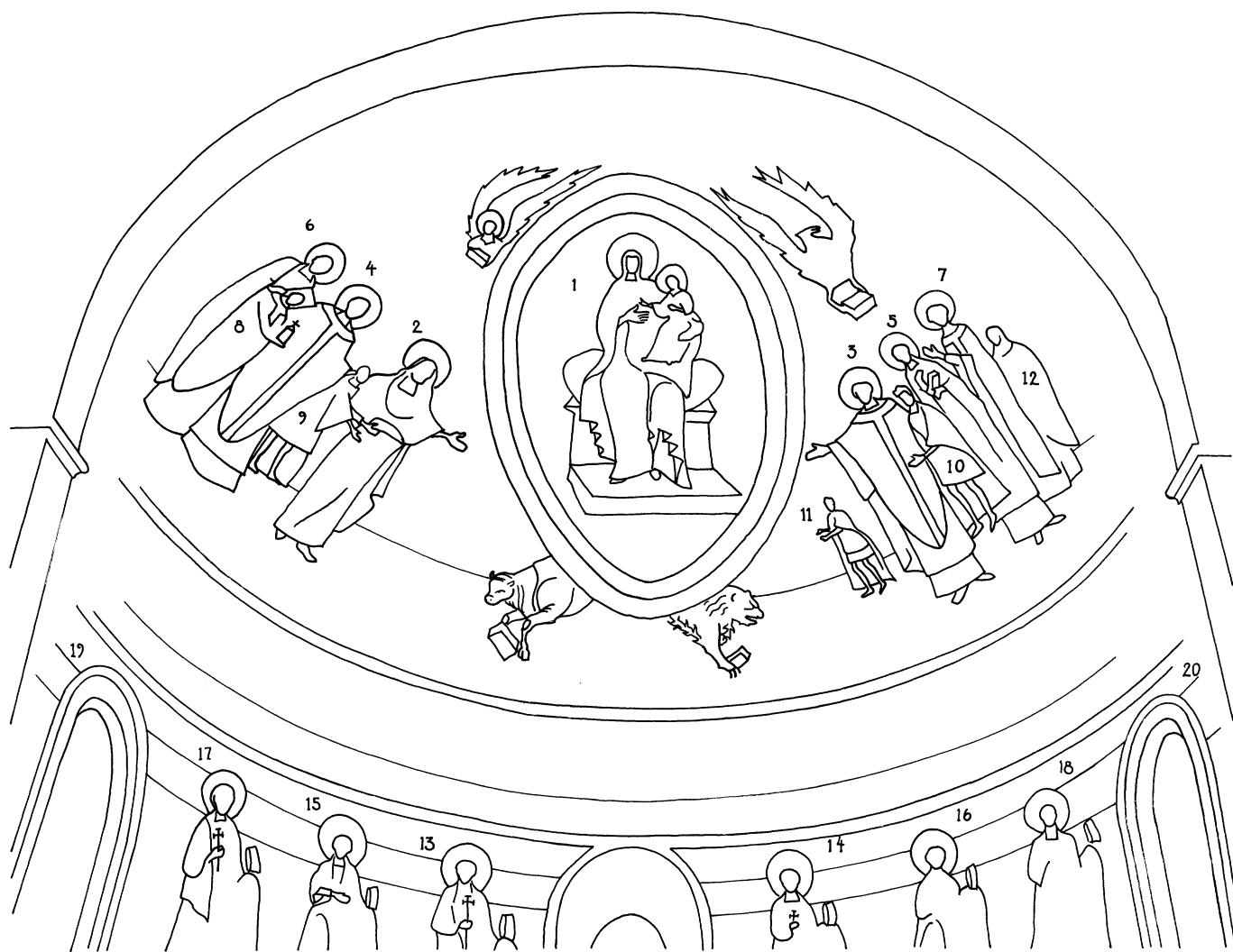
Bettini has argued that Venetian artists executed parts of the Falier pala. However, David Buckton has recently confirmed in a letter to the author that all enamels ascribed to this phase are technically and stylistically consistent with Constantinopolitan authorship. Latin inscriptions and iconographic models were presumably supplied by the Venetians to the Byzantine artists.

<sup>52</sup>On the golden altar of S. Ambrogio, see V. Elbern, "Der Ambrosius-zyclus am karolingischen Goldaltar zu Mailand," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 7 (1953), 1–8 and C. Bertelli, "Sant'Ambrogio da Angilberto a Gotofredo," in *Il millennio ambrosiano: La città del vescovo dai carolingi al Barbarossa* (Milan, 1988), 16 ff. For the influence of antependia on Italian reredos compositions, see H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes* (Munich, 1962), 59 ff.

<sup>53</sup>See Buckton, *The Treasury*, 278–81, no. 40, and H. R. Hahnloser et al., *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, II (Florence, 1971), 152–56, no. 152. Polacco, "The Pala d'Oro," in *Patriarchal Basilica*, II, 229, has already suggested this without elaboration.

<sup>54</sup>For the Aquileian legend, see above, note 8; for the Alexandrian *Passio*, *ActaSS*, 3rd ed., Aprilis III, 346–58, and for the *Translatio Marci*, McCleary, "Note." McCleary transcribes an eleventh-century text, but Baudoine de Gaiffier claims to have discovered a tenth-century version in Codex 197 of the Bibliothèque d'Orléans. See his review of H. C. Peyer in *AnalBoll* 76 (1958), 444–46, esp. 445.

<sup>55</sup>Because the inscription only labels the individual figures, "S(AN)C(TU)S PETRUS S(AN)C(TU)S MARCUS," Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 59, leaves open the possibility that it might represent Peter sending Mark to Alexandria. But this would deprive the Pala d'Oro of the initial episode of the Aquileian mission, which is included in both of the later twelfth-century versions of the legend in the Cappella San Pietro and in the crypt of Aquileia. The Commission of Mark to evangelize Alexandria doesn't appear until the fourteenth-century on Paolo da Venezia's Pala ferriale, and here the Aquileian mission has been omitted altogether.



1 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale: Apse  
(drawing: Pippa Murray)

*Key to Plan 1: The Apse of the Basilica Patriarcale, Aquileia*

Conch

- 1 Madonna and Child in Majesty
- 2 Mark
- 3 Hermagoras
- 4 Hilary
- 5 Fortunatus
- 6 Tatian
- 7 Euphemia
- 8 Patriarch Poppo
- 9 Emperor Henry II
- 10 Emperor Conrad II
- 11 Prince Henry III
- 12 Empress Gisela

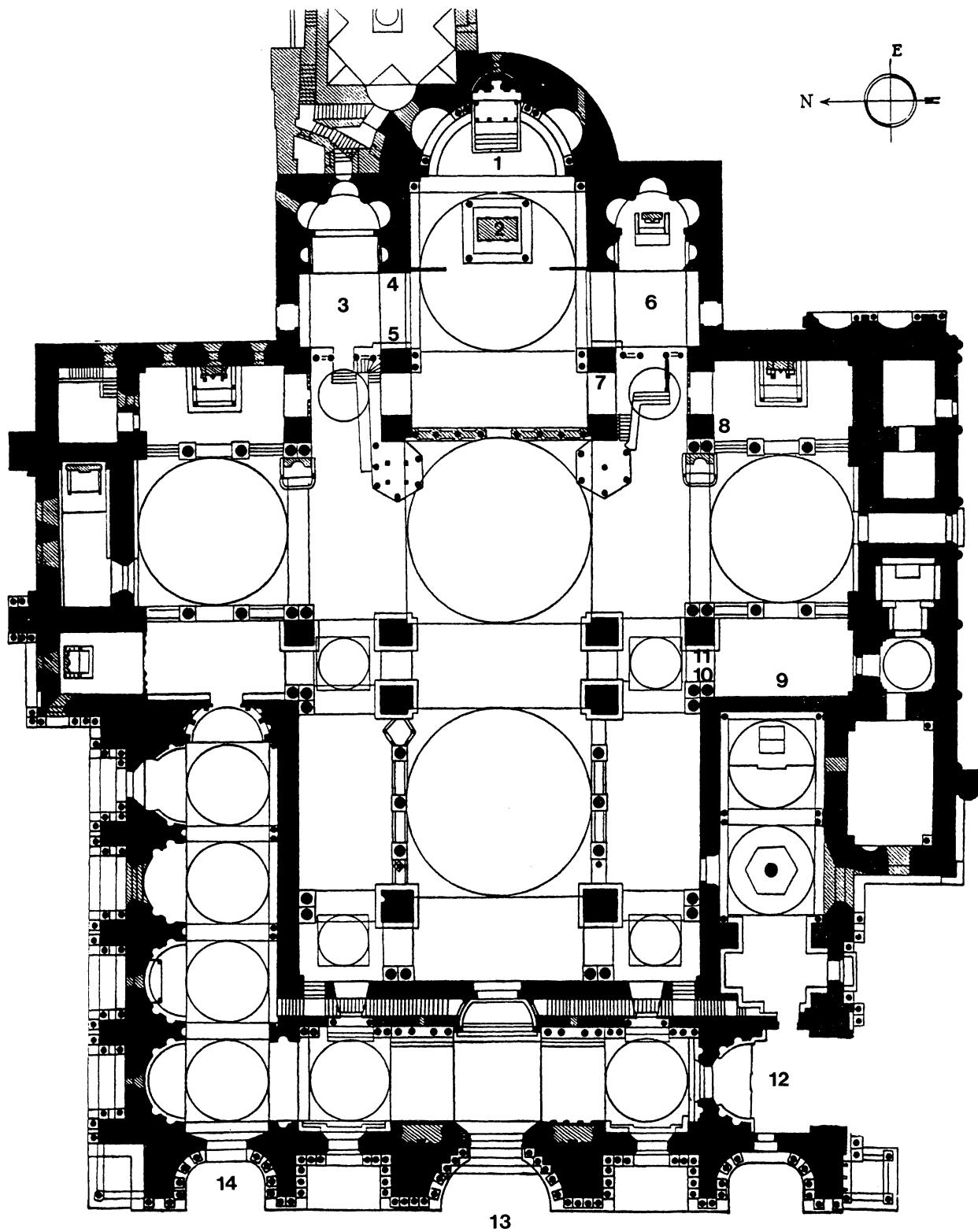
Hemicycle

- 13 Felix
- 14 Fortunatus
- 15 Largus
- 16 Dionysius
- 17 ?
- 18 Primigenius
- 19 Chrysogonus
- 20 Anastasia

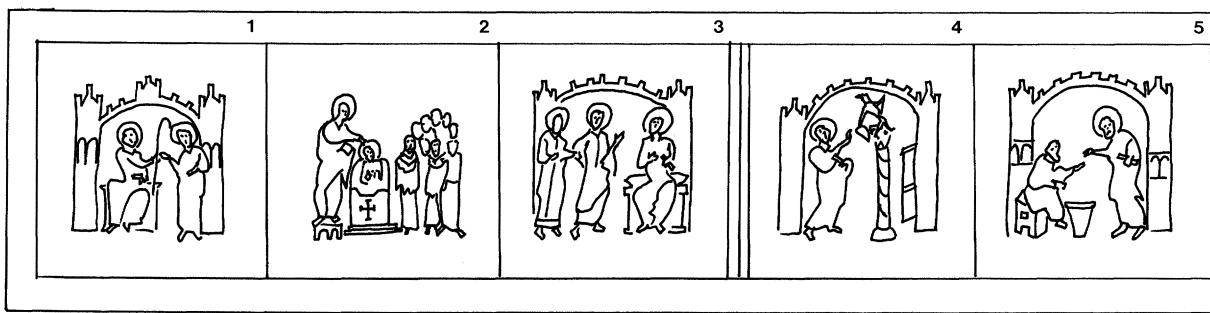
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*Key to Plan 2: Locations of Marcian Legend and Related Scenes*

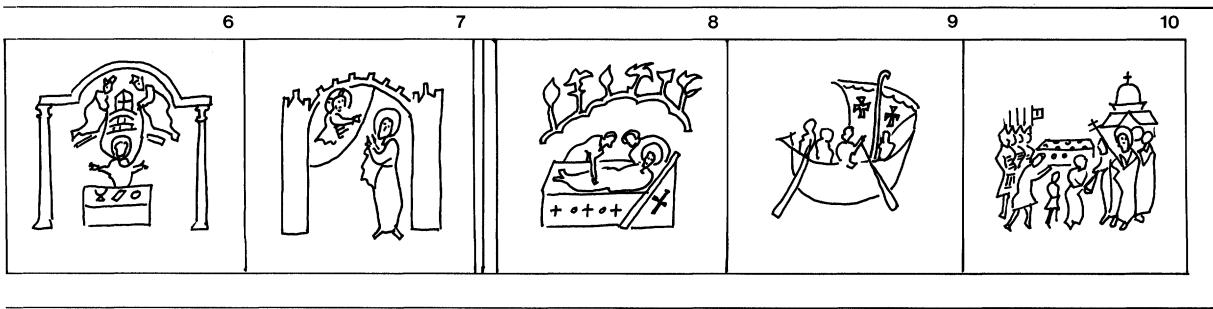
- 1 Hemicycle of central apse: Peter, Mark, Hermagoras
- 2 High altar: The Pala d'Oro
- 3 Cappella San Pietro: Mark's pre-Venetian career
- 4 Pope Pelagius
- 5 Patriarch Helias of Grado
- 6 Cappella San Clemente: Translation of Mark to Venice
- 7 Fragments of deposition mosaic; site of Easter sepulcrum?
- 8 "Pilastro dal Miracolo"
- 9 *Apparitio*
- 10 *Collocatio*
- 11 Constantine and Helen with the Holy Cross
- 12 Cappella Zen (south vestibule to atrium): Mark's pre-Venetian career
- 13 West facade: Translation of Mark to Venice
- 14 Porta di Sant'Alipio



2 Venice, San Marco: General plan

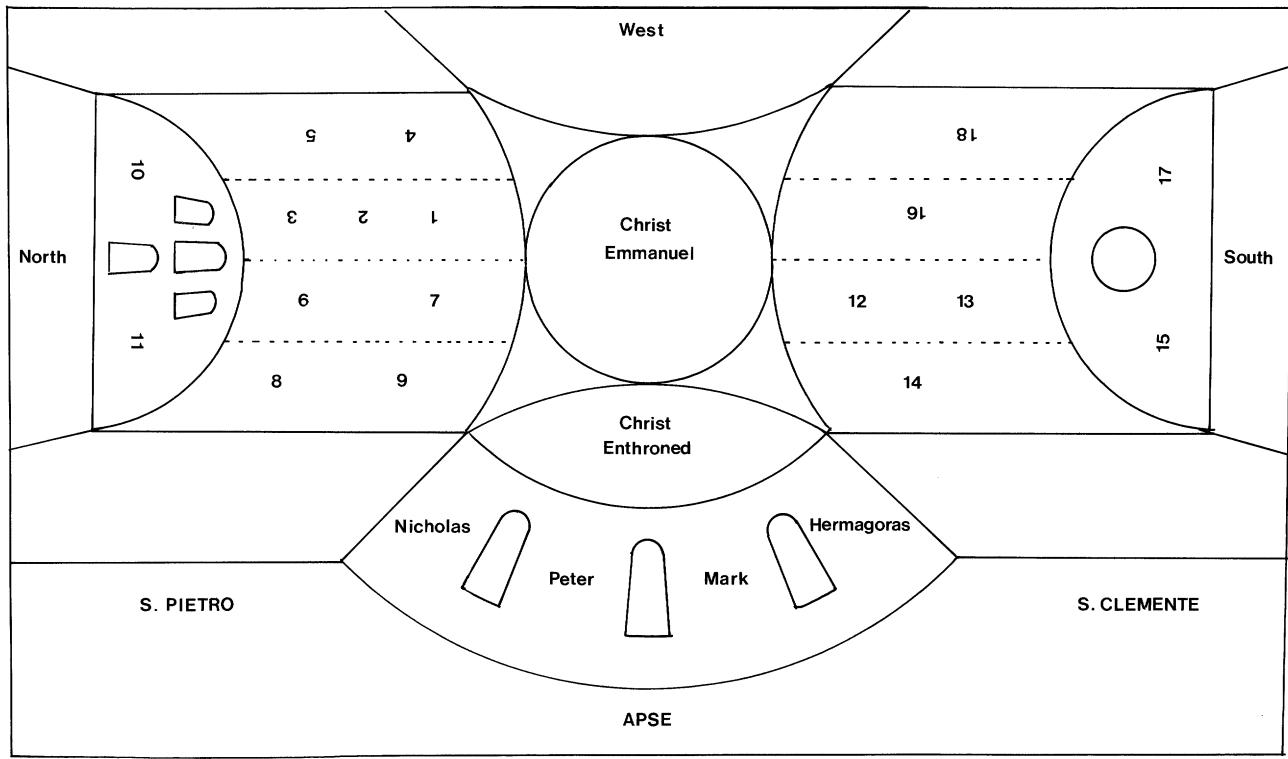


3 Venice, San Marco: Pala d'Oro, Life of Saint Mark  
(drawing: Pippa Murray)



*Key to Plan 3: The Mark Cycle of the Pala d'Oro*

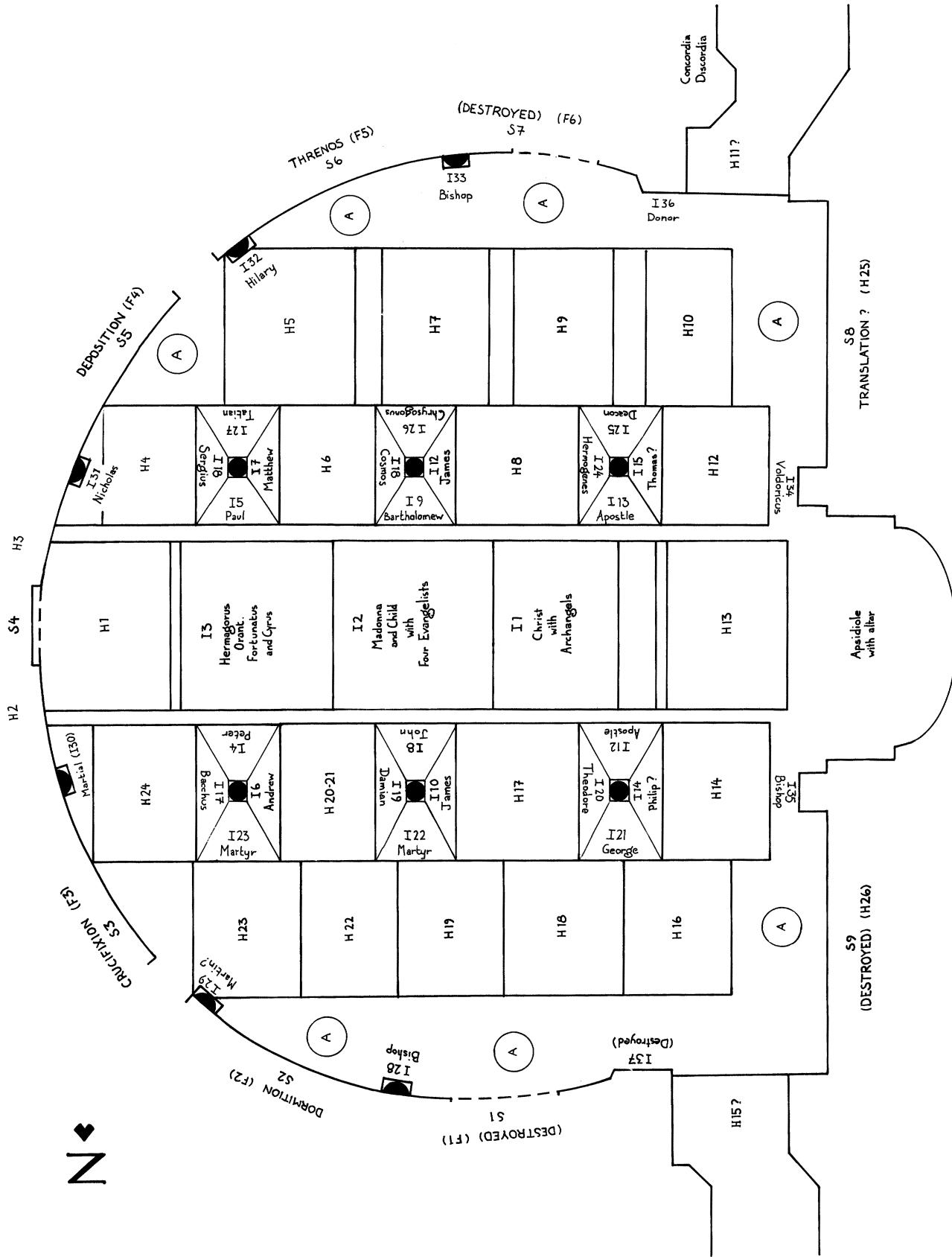
- 1 Peter commissions Mark as apostle of Aquileia
- 2 Mark baptizes Hermagoras?
- 3 Mark conducts Hermagoras to Peter in Rome
- 4 Mark destroys idol in Pentapolis
- 5 Mark heals Anianus in Alexandria
- 6 Mark captured by pagans at Easter mass in Alexandria
- 7 Mark's vision of Christ in prison at Alexandria
- 8 *Invention* of Mark's relics by Venetians outside Alexandria
- 9 Translation of relics to Venice
- 10 Reception of relics in Venice



4 Venice, San Marco: Choir chapels  
(drawing: Pippa Murray)

*Key to Plan 4: The Mark Cycle of the Choir Chapels, San Marco*

- 1 Peter commissions Mark as apostle of Aquileia (consecrates Mark as patriarch of Aquileia)
- 2 Mark heals Athaulf at Aquileia
- 3 Mark baptizes Athaulf at Aquileia
- 4 Peter consecrates Hermagoras as patriarch of Aquileia
- 5 Hermagoras baptizing in Aquileia
- 6 Mark preaching in Pentapolis
- 7 Mark baptizing in Pentapolis
- 8 Mark warned by angel; journeys to Alexandria
- 9 Mark heals Anianus in Alexandria
- 10 Mark captured by pagans at Easter mass in Alexandria
- 11 Entombment of Mark in Alexandria
- 12 Venetians remove Mark's relics from tomb in Alexandria
- 13 Venetians carry off relics in baskets of pork
- 14 Moslem officials inspect Venetian ship
- 15 Ship with Mark's relics departs for Venice
- 16 Mark saves Venetians from shipwreck
- 17 Arrival of ship in Venice
- 18 Reception of relics by the doge and the patriarch of Grado



*Key to Plan 5: The Frescoes of the Crypt of the Basilica Patriarcale at Aquileia*

A = Archangels

F = Feast cycle

H = Hagiographic cycle

I = Intercessory hierarchy of the saints

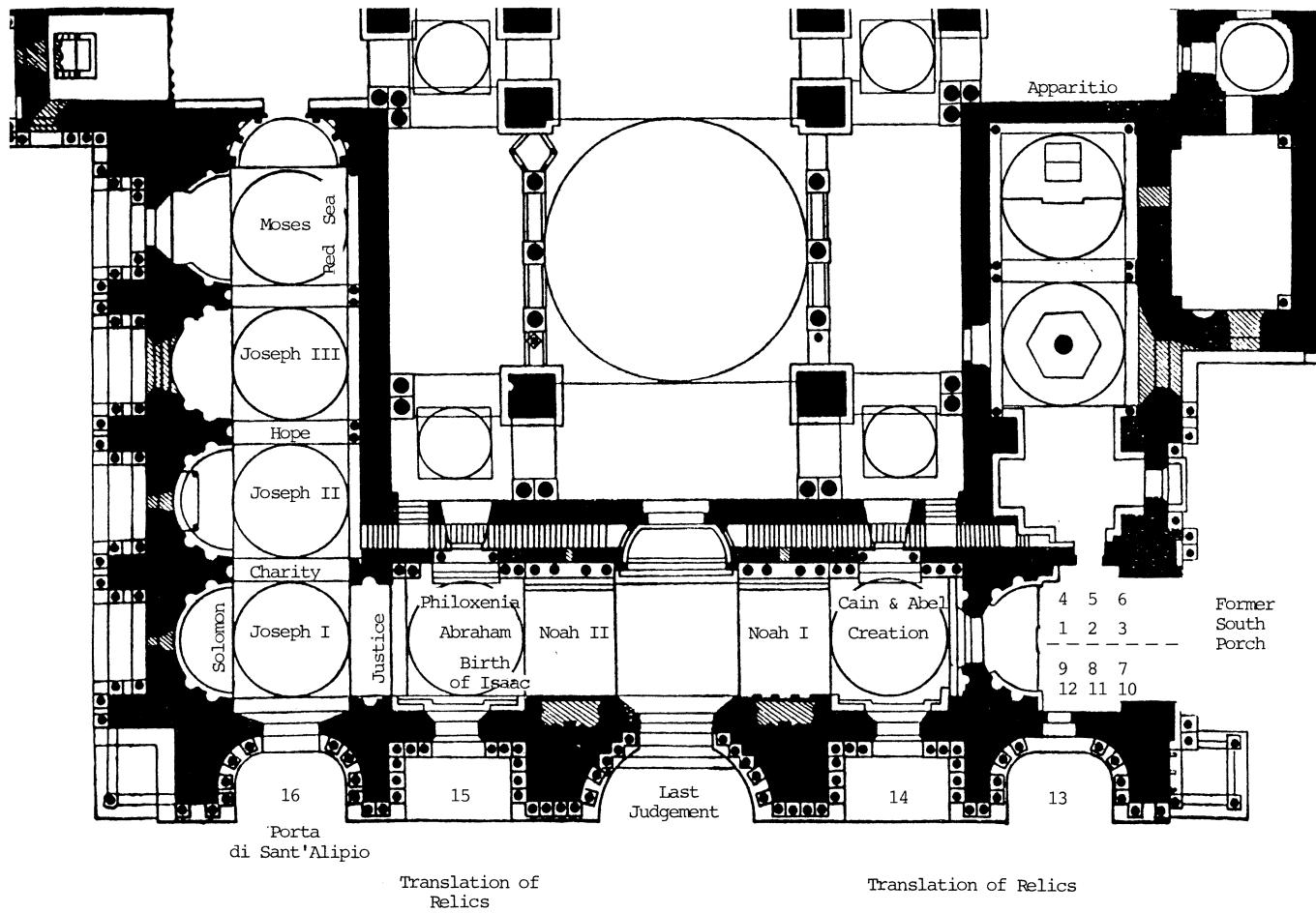
S = Socle (fictive curtain)

Hagiographic Cycle

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| H1 Peter commissions Mark as apostle of Aquileia      | H14 Hermagoras tortured by Sevastus   |
| H2 Mark heals Athaulf at Aquileia                     | H15 Destroyed scene   |
| H3 Mark baptizes Athaulf at Aquileia                  | H16 Hermagoras converts Pontianus, the jailer                                 |
| H4 Mark is confronted by citizens of Aquileia         | H17 Fortunatus baptizes Pontianus   |
| H5 Hermagoras elected bishop of Aquileia              | H18 Hermagoras heals and converts Gregory's son                               |
| H6 Mark journeys with Hermagoras to Rome              | H19 Hermagoras baptizes Gregory and his family                                |
| H7 Peter consecrates Hermagoras as bishop of Aquileia | H20 Hermagoras consecrates Fortunatus   |
| H8 Hermagoras arrives at Aquileia                     | H21 Hermagoras converts Alexandria  |
| H9 Hermagoras preaching or instructing the clergy     | H22 Fortunatus baptizes Alexandria  |
| H10 Hermagoras ordains priests                        | H23 Hermagoras and Fortunatus beheaded  |
| H11 Fragmentary scene                                 | H24 Entombment of Hermagoras and Fortunatus                                   |
| H12 Hermagoras brought before Sevastus                | H25 Fragmentary scene: Translation of Hermagoras and Fortunatus to Aquileia ? |
| H13 Hermagoras tortured by Sevastus                   | H26 Destroyed scene   |

Hagiographic Cycle

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| H14 Hermagoras tortured by Sevastus   | H15 Destroyed scene   |
| H16 Hermagoras converts Pontianus, the jailer                                 | H17 Fortunatus baptizes Pontianus   |
| H17 Fortunatus baptizes Pontianus   | H18 Hermagoras heals and converts Gregory's son                               |
| H18 Hermagoras baptizes Gregory and his family                                | H19 Hermagoras baptizes Gregory and his family                                |
| H19 Hermagoras baptizes Gregory and his family                                | H20 Hermagoras consecrates Fortunatus   |
| H20 Hermagoras consecrates Fortunatus   | H21 Hermagoras converts Alexandria  |
| H21 Hermagoras converts Alexandria  | H22 Fortunatus baptizes Alexandria  |
| H22 Fortunatus baptizes Alexandria  | H23 Hermagoras and Fortunatus beheaded  |
| H23 Hermagoras and Fortunatus beheaded  | H24 Entombment of Hermagoras and Fortunatus                                   |
| H24 Entombment of Hermagoras and Fortunatus                                   | H25 Fragmentary scene: Translation of Hermagoras and Fortunatus to Aquileia ? |
| H25 Fragmentary scene: Translation of Hermagoras and Fortunatus to Aquileia ? | H26 Destroyed scene   |



6 Venice, San Marco: Cappella Zen and atrium

*Key to Plan 6: The Mosaics of the Atrium, the Cappella Zen, and West Facade*

Mark Cycle on the Vault of the Cappella Zen (Former South Porch)

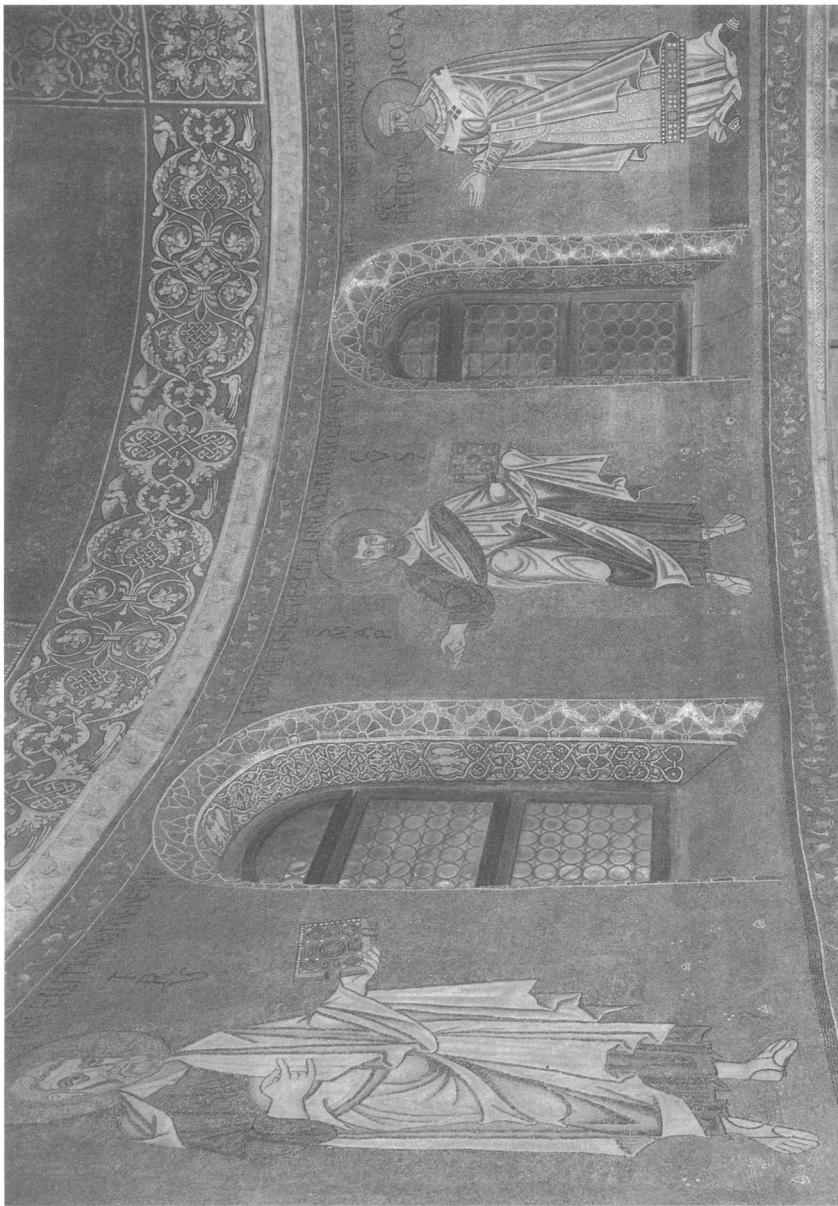
- 1 Mark writing the Gospel
- 2 Peter approves Mark's Gospel
- 3 Mark baptizing in Aquileia
- 4 The *Praedestinatio*
- 5 Peter consecrates Hermagoras patriarch of Aquileia
- 6 Mark heals a demoniac
- 7 Mark ordered to go to Alexandria
- 8 Mark's voyage to Alexandria
- 9 Mark heals Anianus
- 10 Mark strangled at the altar
- 11 Mark dragged and martyred
- 12 Entombment of Mark

Translation Cycle on the West Facade

- 13 Invention of relics in Alexandria
  - a) Removal of Mark's relics from the tomb in Alexandria
  - b) Relics placed in baskets of pork
  - c) Relics carried to Venetian ship
  - d) Moslem guards deceived
  - e) Relics loaded on boat
- 14 Voyage of relics to Venice
  - a) Relics embarked on Venetian ship
  - b) Disputation between Theodorus and the Egyptians
  - c) Departure of ship
  - d) Mark saves Venetians from shipwreck
- 15 Arrival of relics in Venice
  - a) Arrival of ship at Venice
  - b) Reception of relics by the patriarch of Grado and the doge
- 16 Deposition of the relics in San Marco (dedication of the Contarini Basilica in 1094)



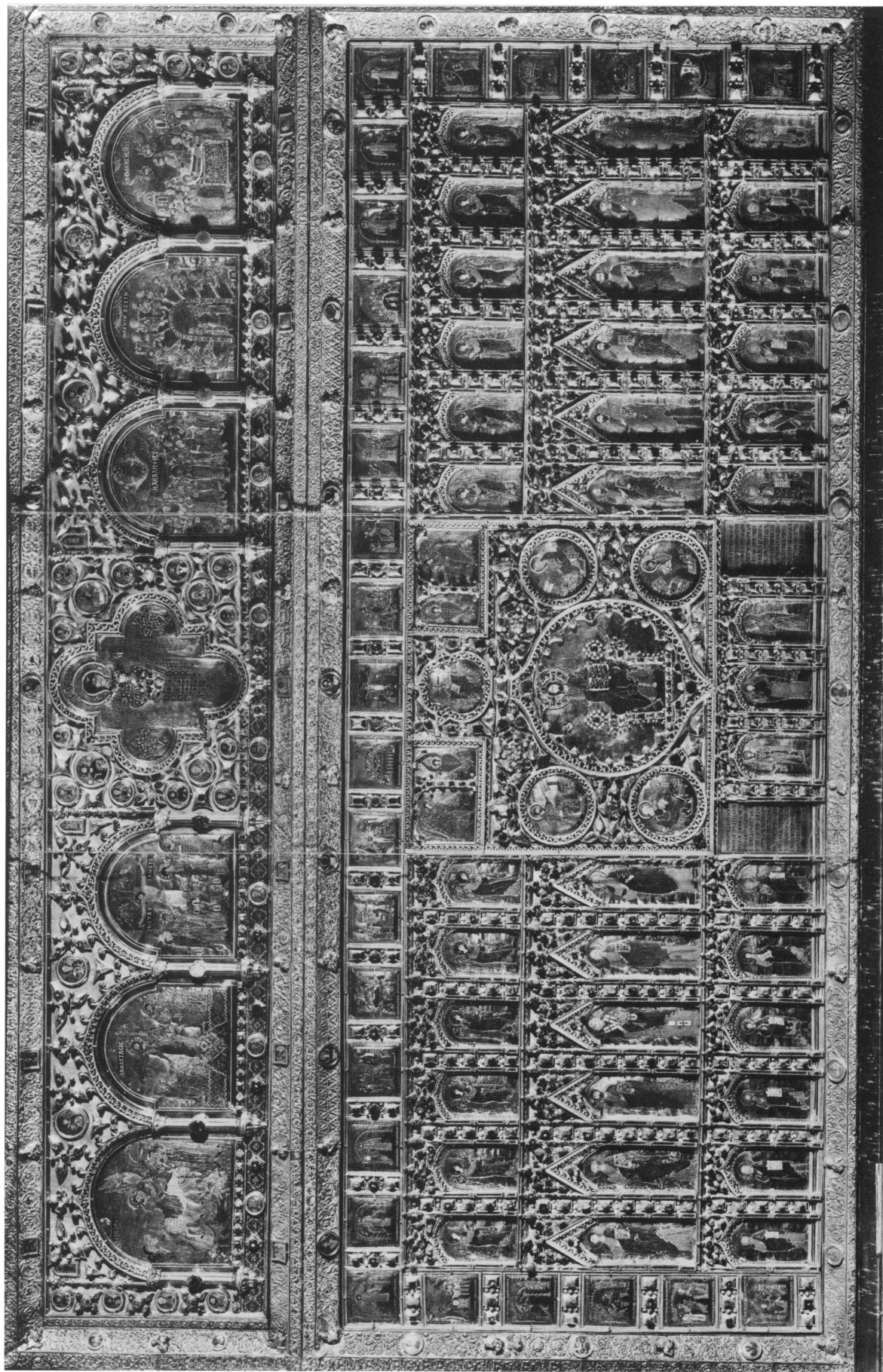
1 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, central apse: General view (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



2 Venice, San Marco, hemicycle of central apse:  
Saint Nicholas (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



3 Venice, San Marco, hemicycle of central apse:  
Peter, Mark, and Hermagoras  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



4 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: General view (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



5 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Peter commissions Mark as apostle to Aquileia (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



6 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark baptizes Hermagoras? (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



7 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark conducts Hermagoras to Peter in Rome (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



8 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark destroys idol in Pentapolis (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



9 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark heals Anianus in Alexandria (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



10 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark captured by pagans at Easter mass (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



11 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Mark's vision of Christ in prison at Alexandria (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



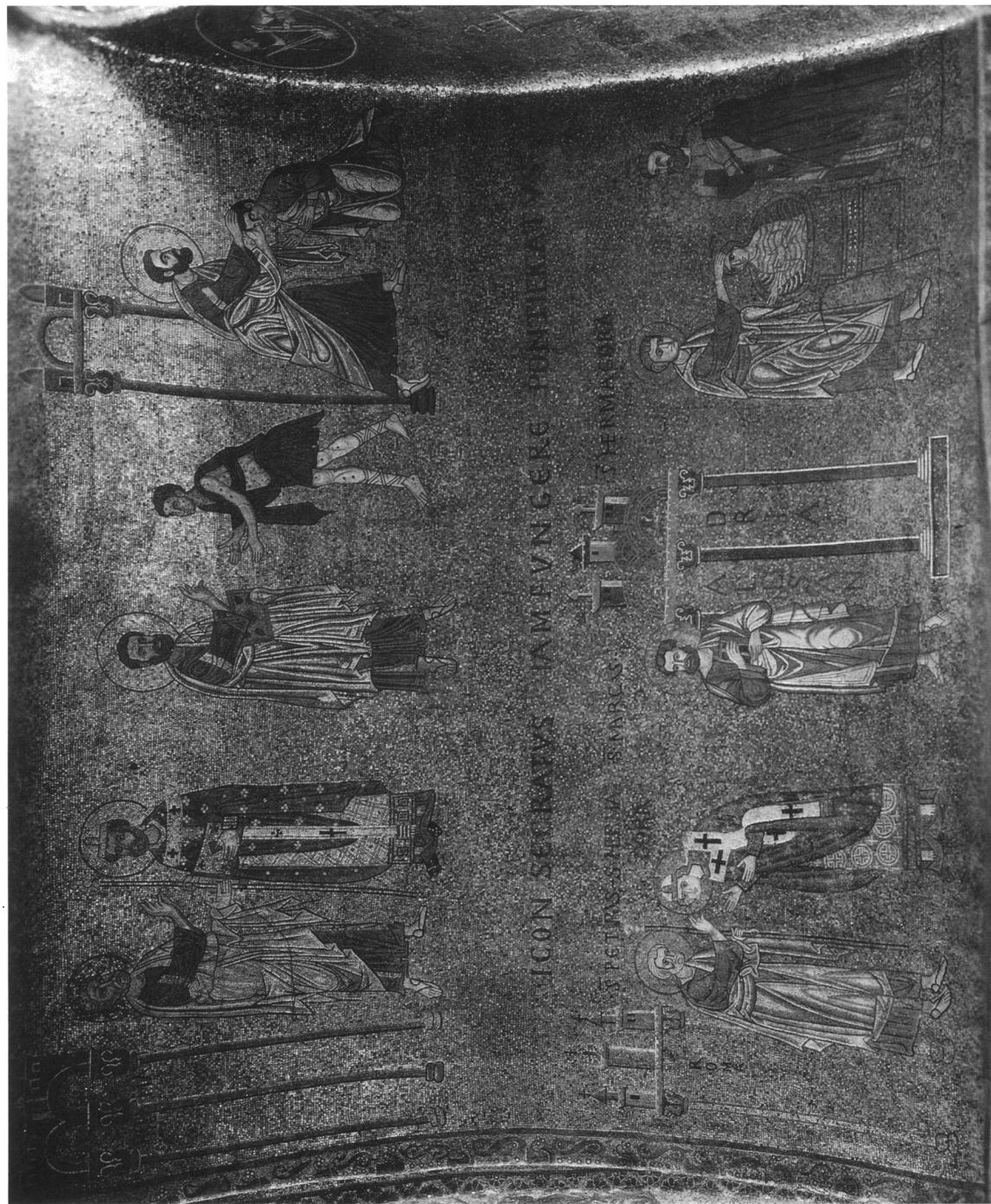
12 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Venetians raise Mark's relics from his Alexandrian tomb (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



13 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Journey of Mark's relics to Venice (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



14 Venice, San Marco, Pala d'Oro: Reception of Mark's relics in Venice (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



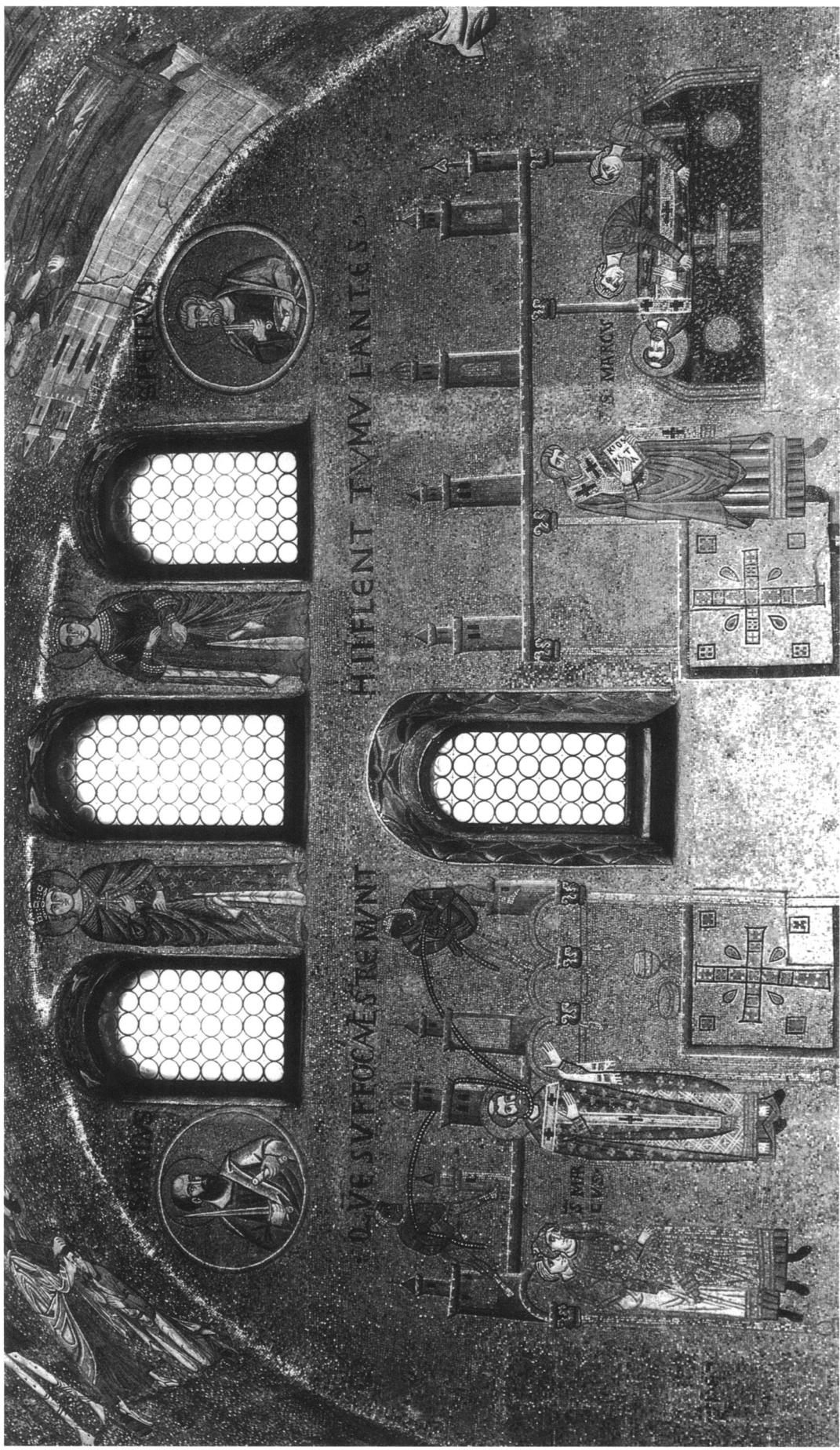
15 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, barrel vault, west side: Consecration of Mark; Mark heals and baptizes Athaulf; consecration of Hermagoras; Hermagoras baptizing (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



16 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, barrel vault, east side, top register: Mark's mission to Pentapolis (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



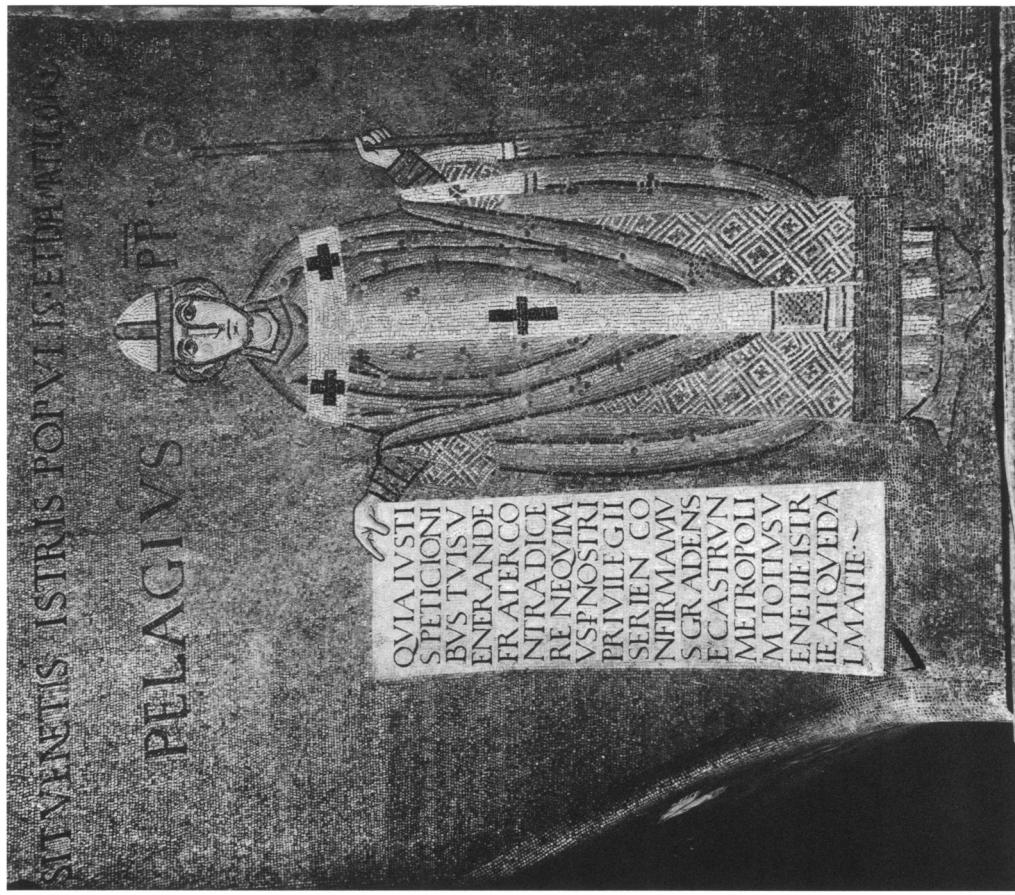
17 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, barrel vault, east side, lower register: Mark departs from Pentapolis and heals Anianus (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



18 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, north lunette: Mark captured, entombed (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



20 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, soffit of arch opening into choir  
into choir: Patriarch Helias of Grado (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



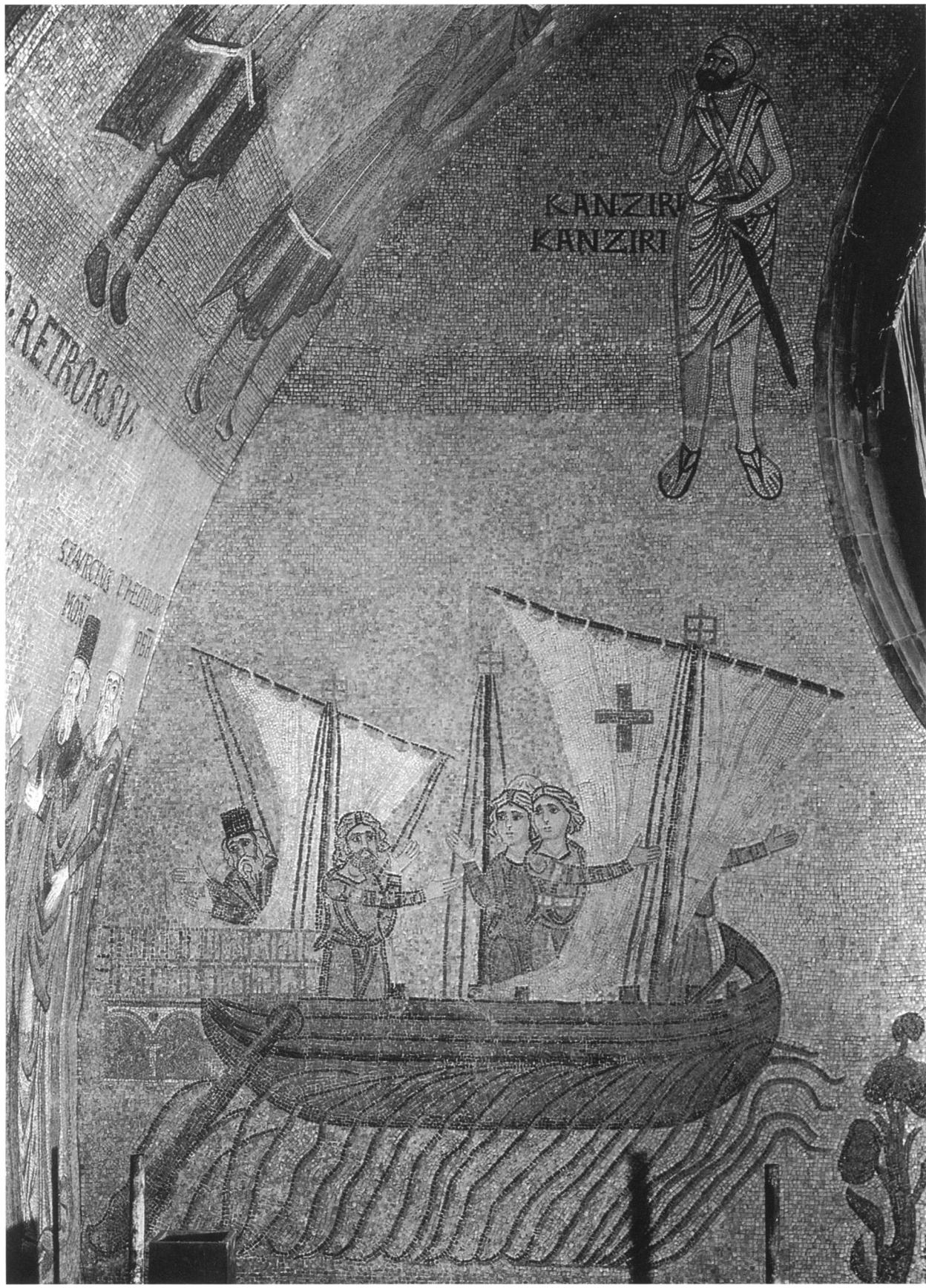
19 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Pietro, soffit of arch opening into choir, east  
side: Pope Pelagius (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



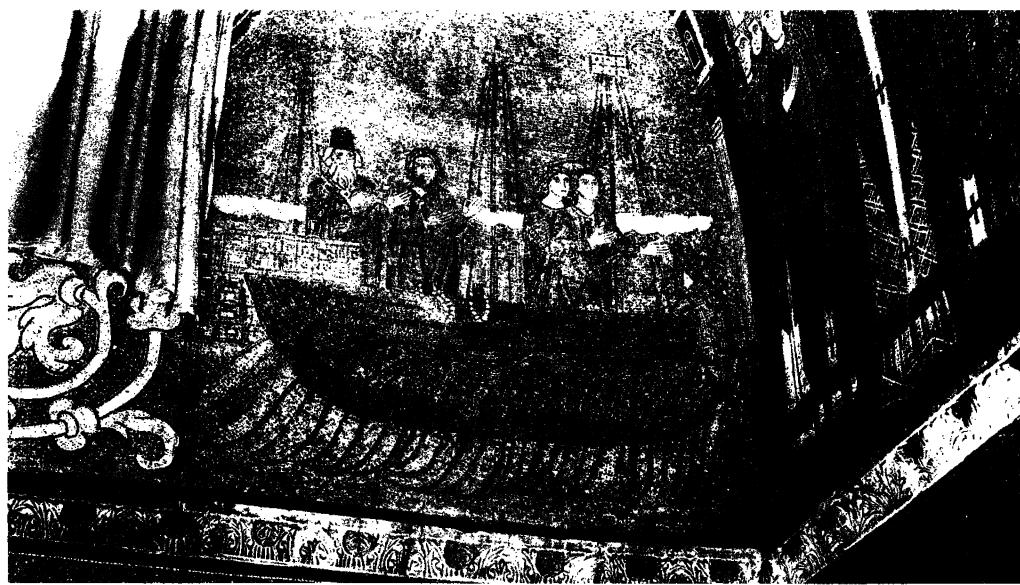
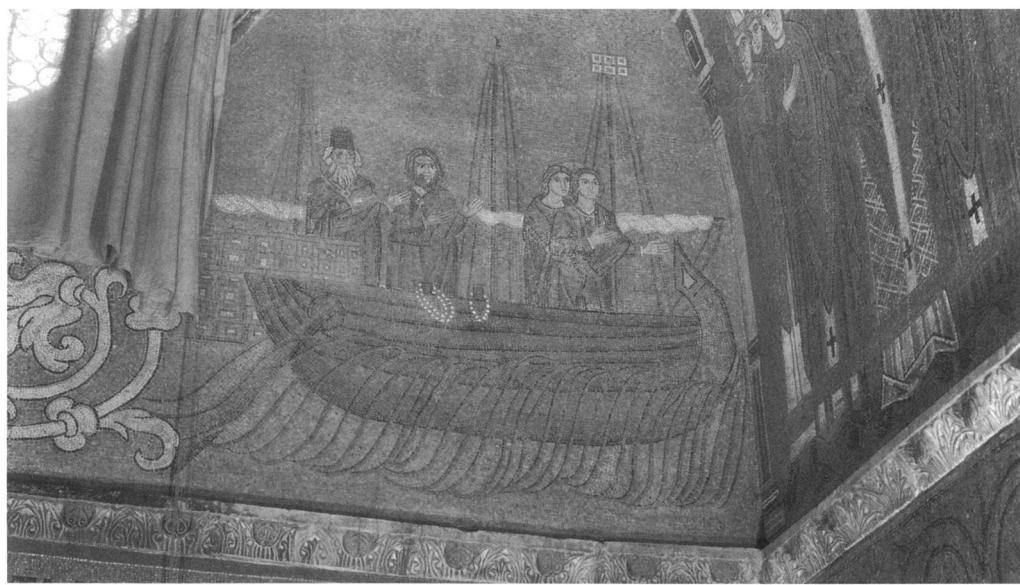
21 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente, barrel vault, east side, top register: *Invention of Mark's relics*; transportation of relics in baskets of pork to Venetian ship (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



22 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente: Moslem officials inspect Venetian ship (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



23 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente: Ship departs for Venice  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



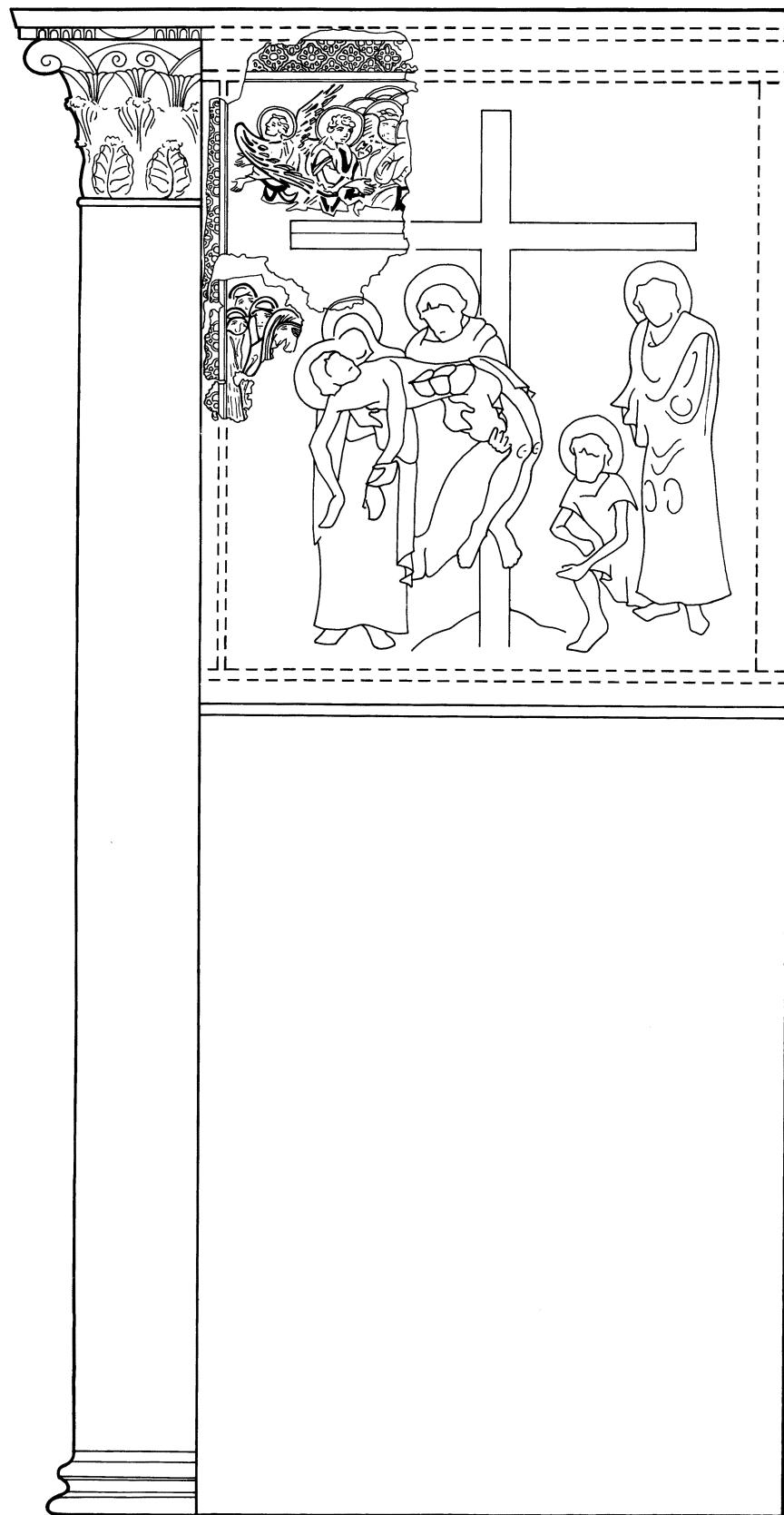
25 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente: Arrival of ship in Venice  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



24 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente: Mark saves Venetians from shipwreck  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



26 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente: Reception of relics in Venice  
(photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



27 Venice, San Marco, Cappella San Clemente, northeast leg of southeast crossing pier: Reconstruction diagram of deposition mosaic  
(drawing: Pippa Murray)



28 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt, general view of central aisle vault and spandrels: Hierarchy of saints



29 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Commission of Mark by Peter  
(photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)



30 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Conversion and baptism of Athaulf by Mark



31 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Mark confronted by citizens of Aquileia



32 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Election of Hermagoras  
(photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



33 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Journey of Mark and Hermagoras to Rome



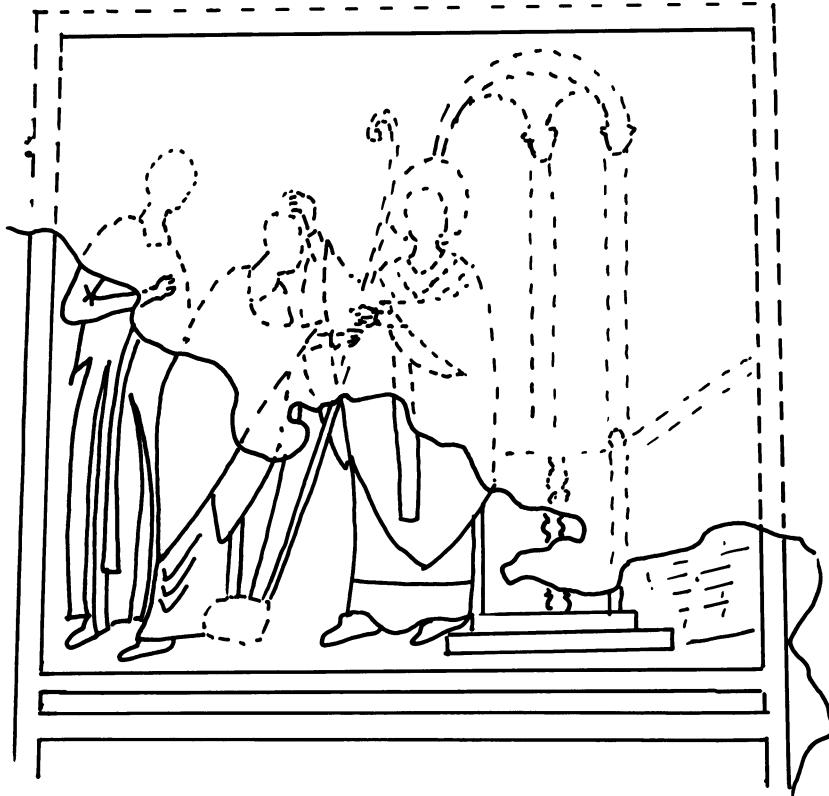
34 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Peter consecrates Hermagoras  
(photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)



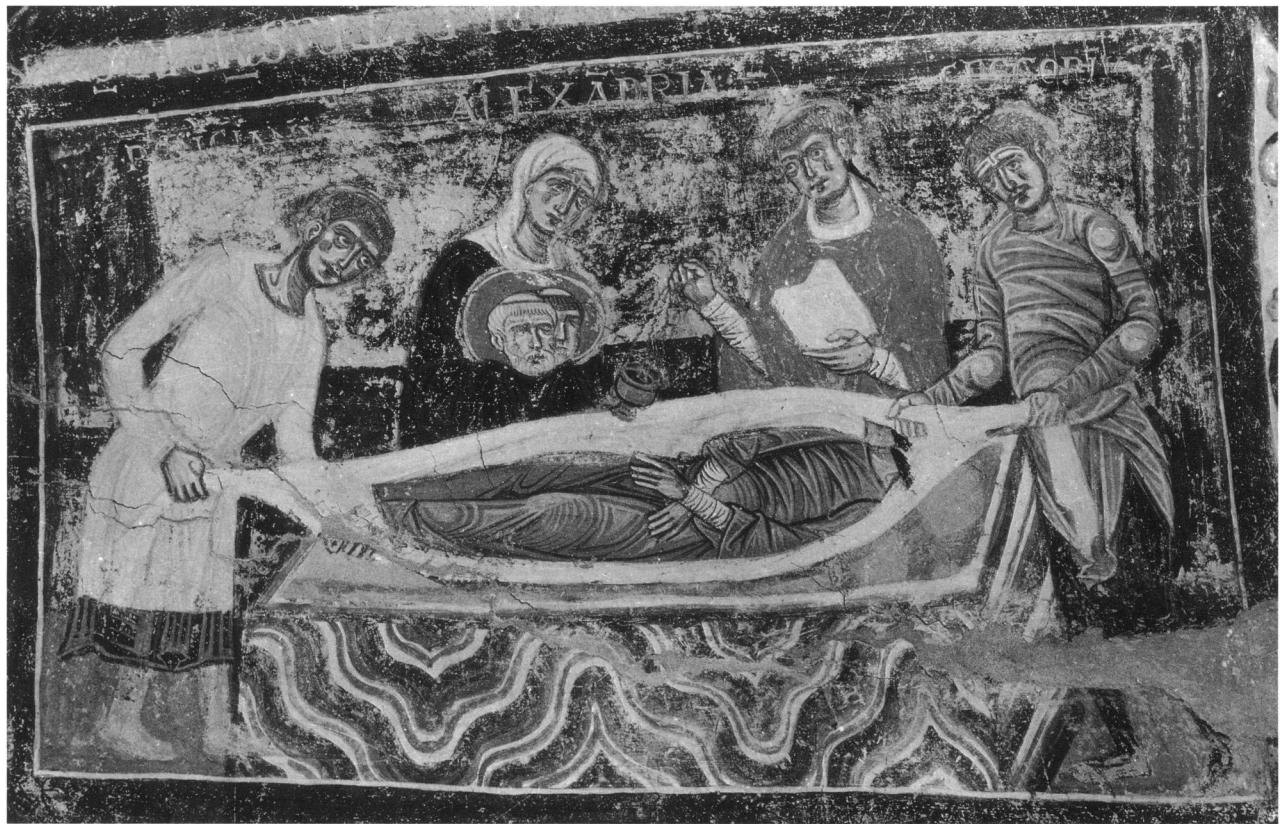
35 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Hermagoras arrives at Aquileia



36 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Hermagoras preaching at Aquileia



37 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Hermagoras ordaining priests



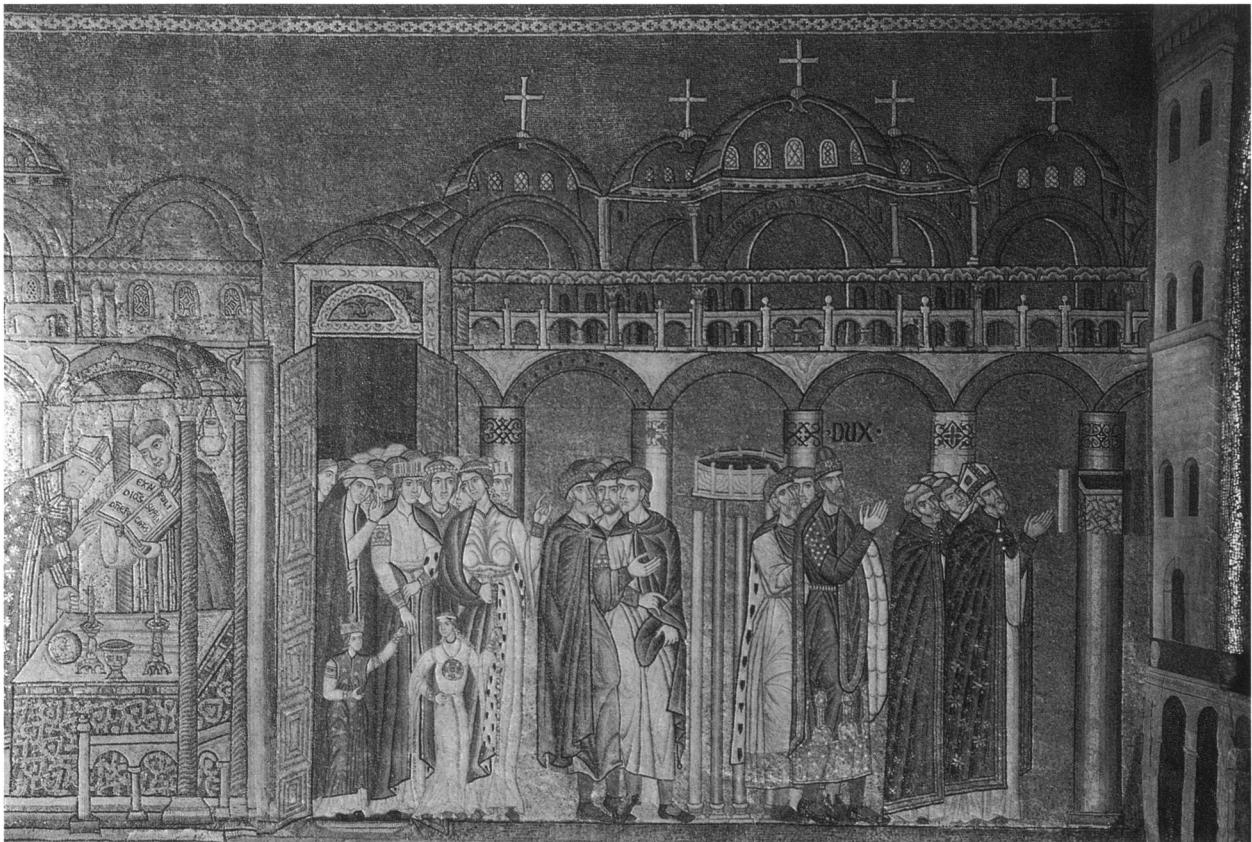
39 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: Entombment of Hermagoras and Fortunatus (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



38 Aquileia, Basilica Patriarcale, crypt: General view, north aisle vault



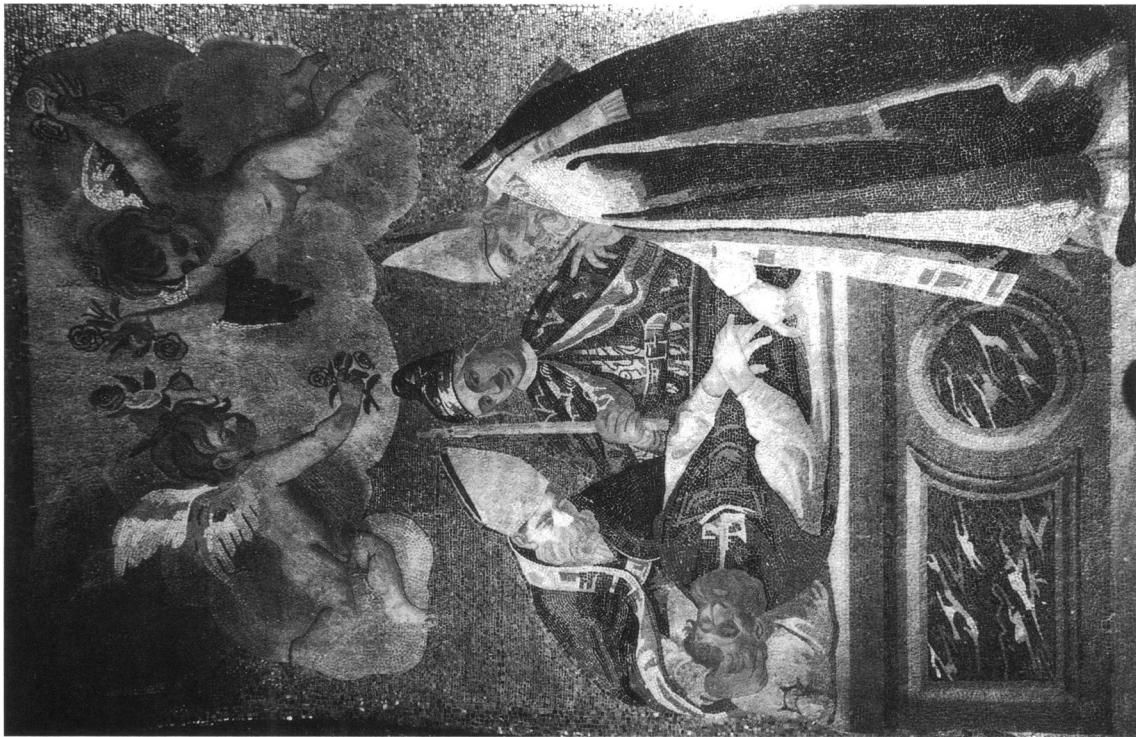
40 Venice, San Marco, south transept, west wall: *Apparitio*—“Preghiera”  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



41 Venice, San Marco, south transept, west wall: *Apparitio*—Miracle  
(photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



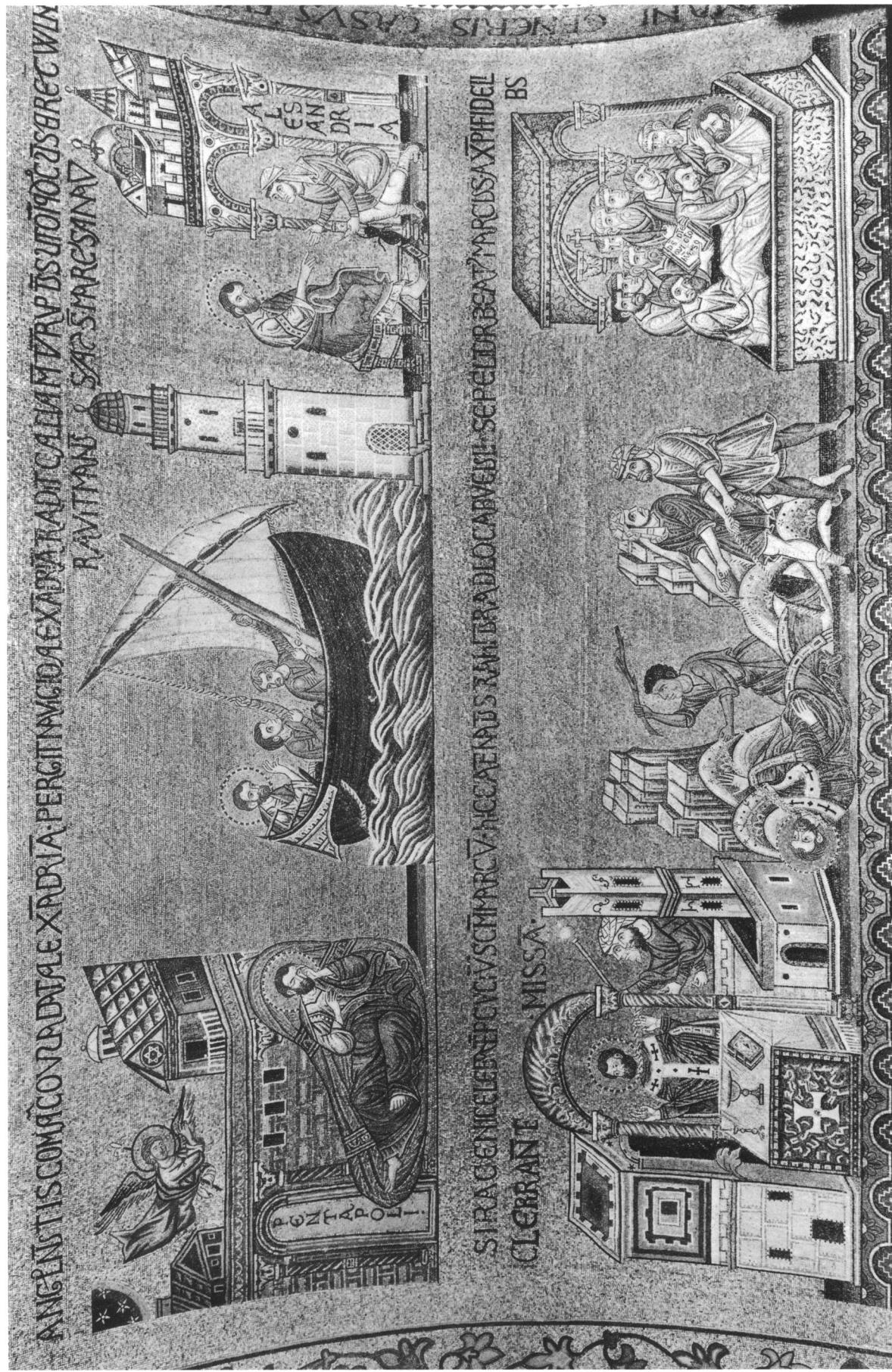
43 Venice, San Marco, southwest crossing pier, tribune, south arch: Constantine and Helen with the cross  
(photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



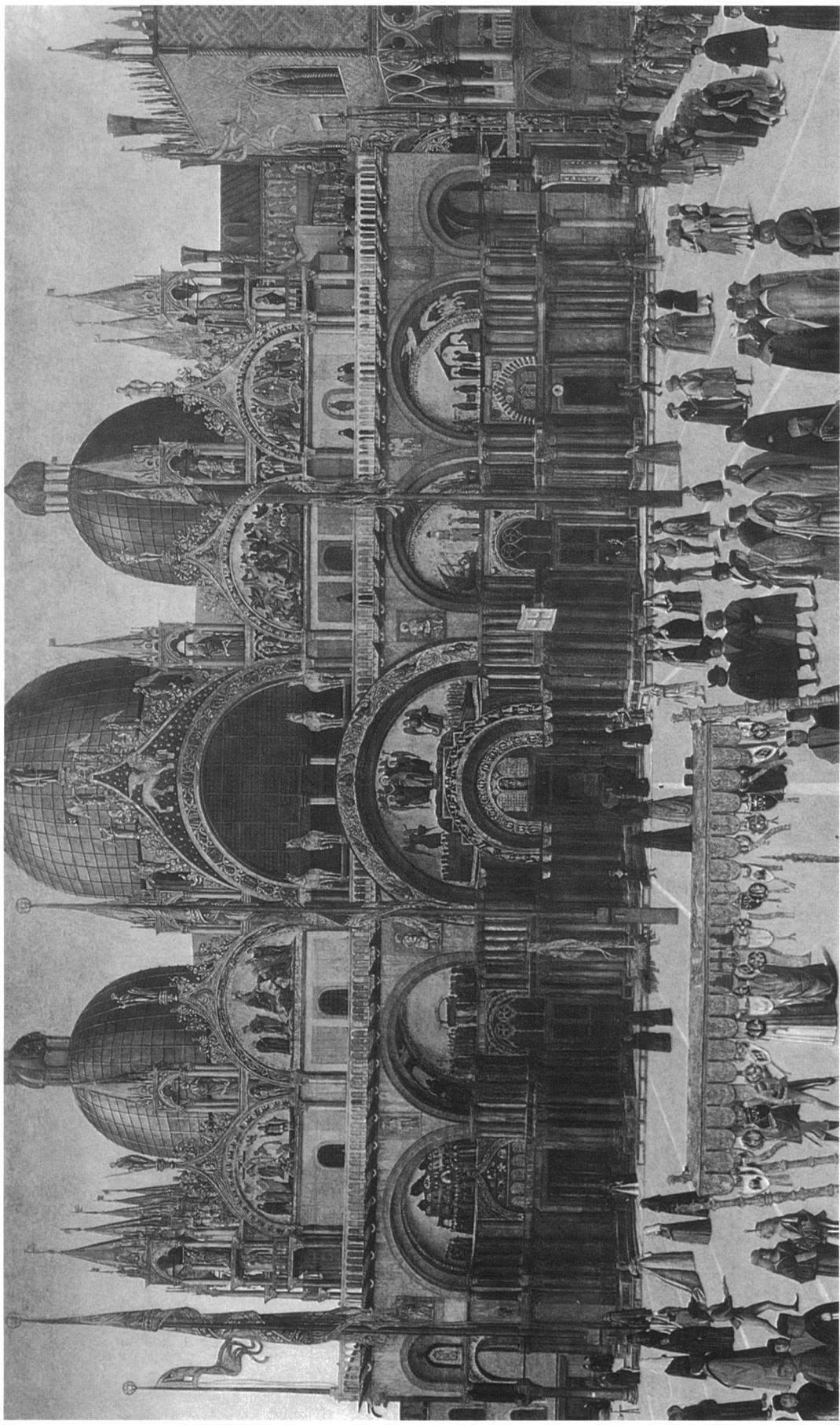
42 Venice, San Marco, southwest tribune at crossing, south arch:  
*Collatio* (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



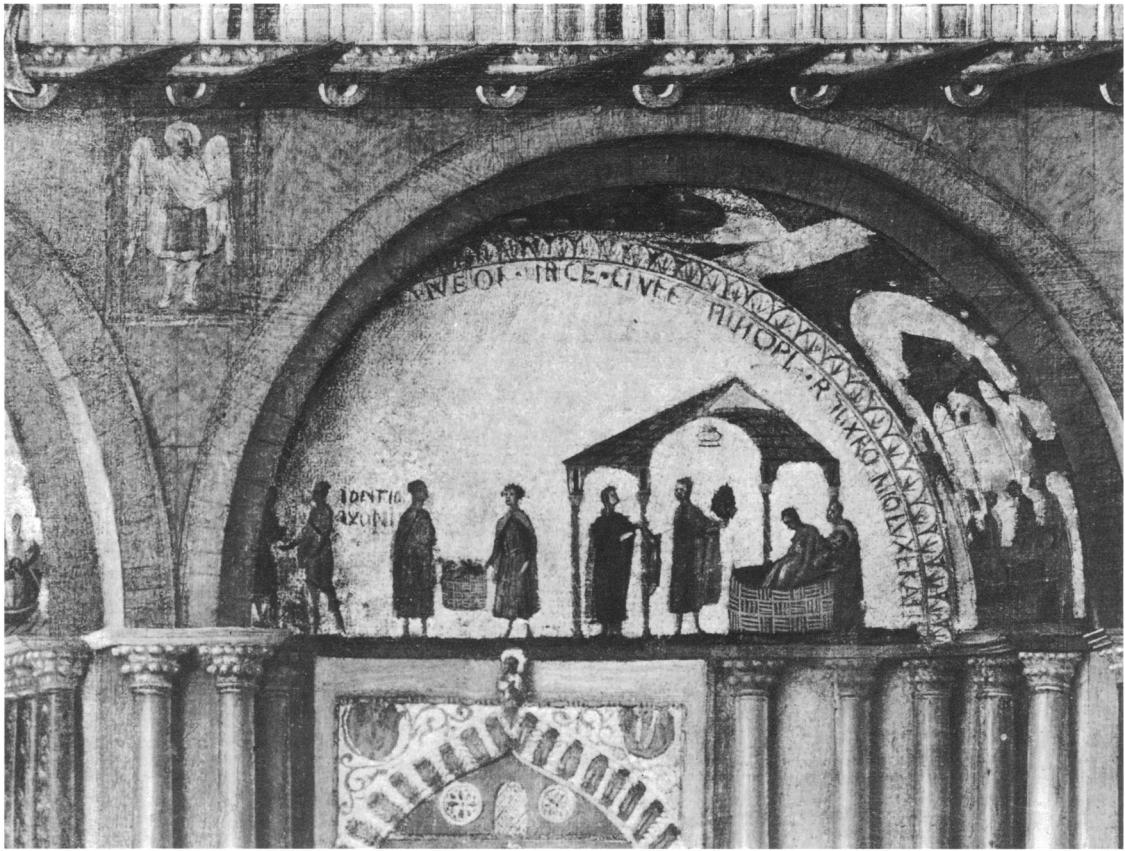
44 Venice, San Marco, Cappella Zen, east side of barrel vault (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



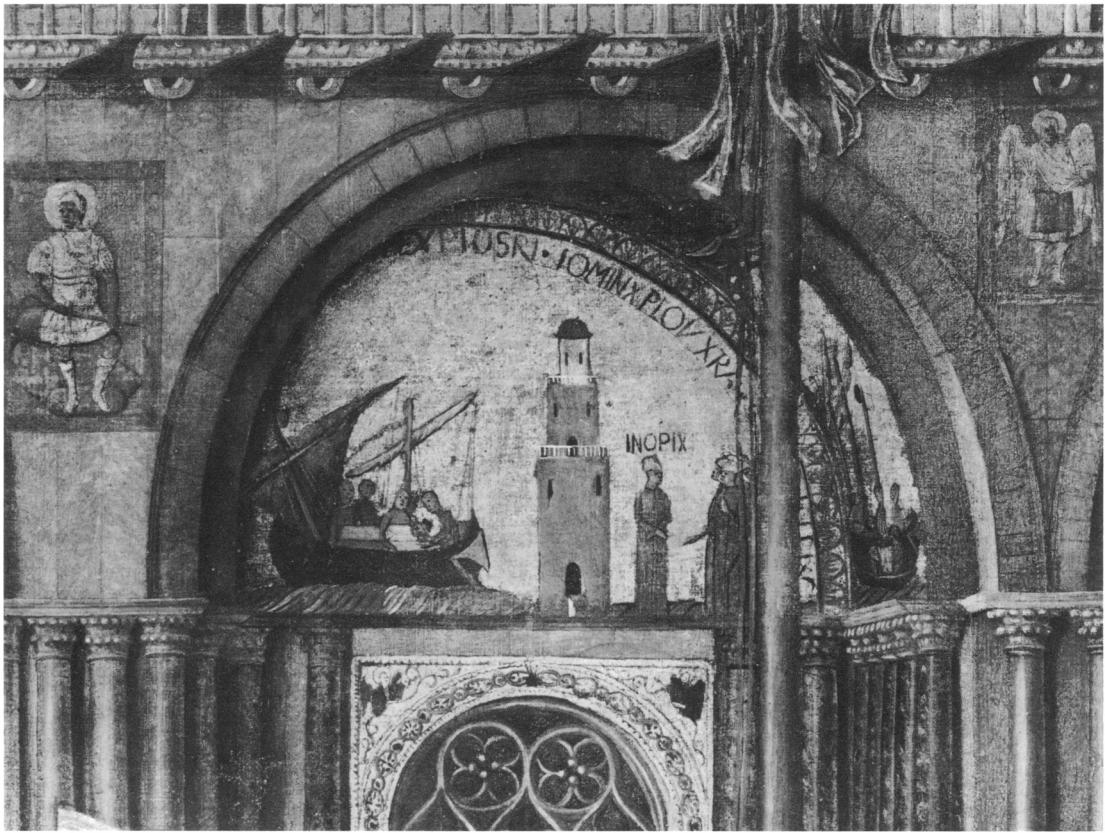
45 Venice, San Marco, Cappella Zen, west side of barrel vault (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



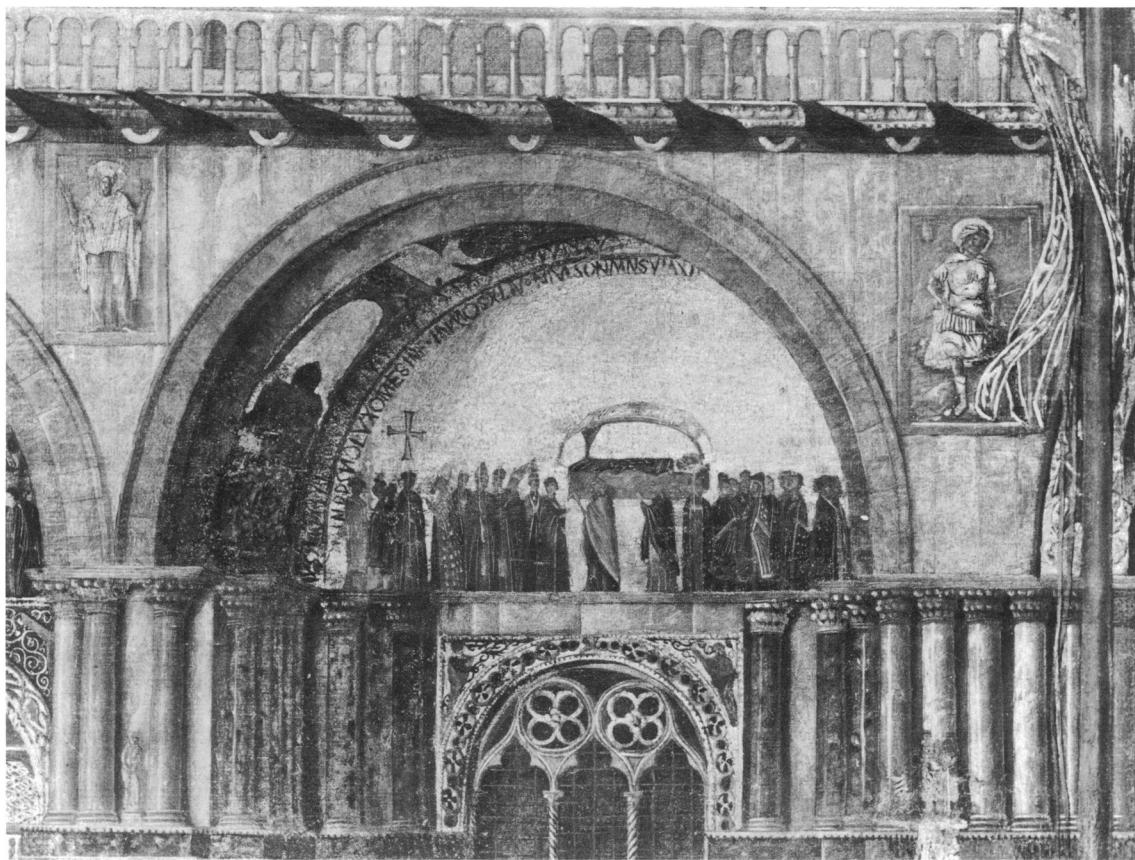
46 Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia, Gentile Bellini's "Procession in Piazza San Marco" showing west facade of San Marco  
(photo: AlinariArt Resource, New York)



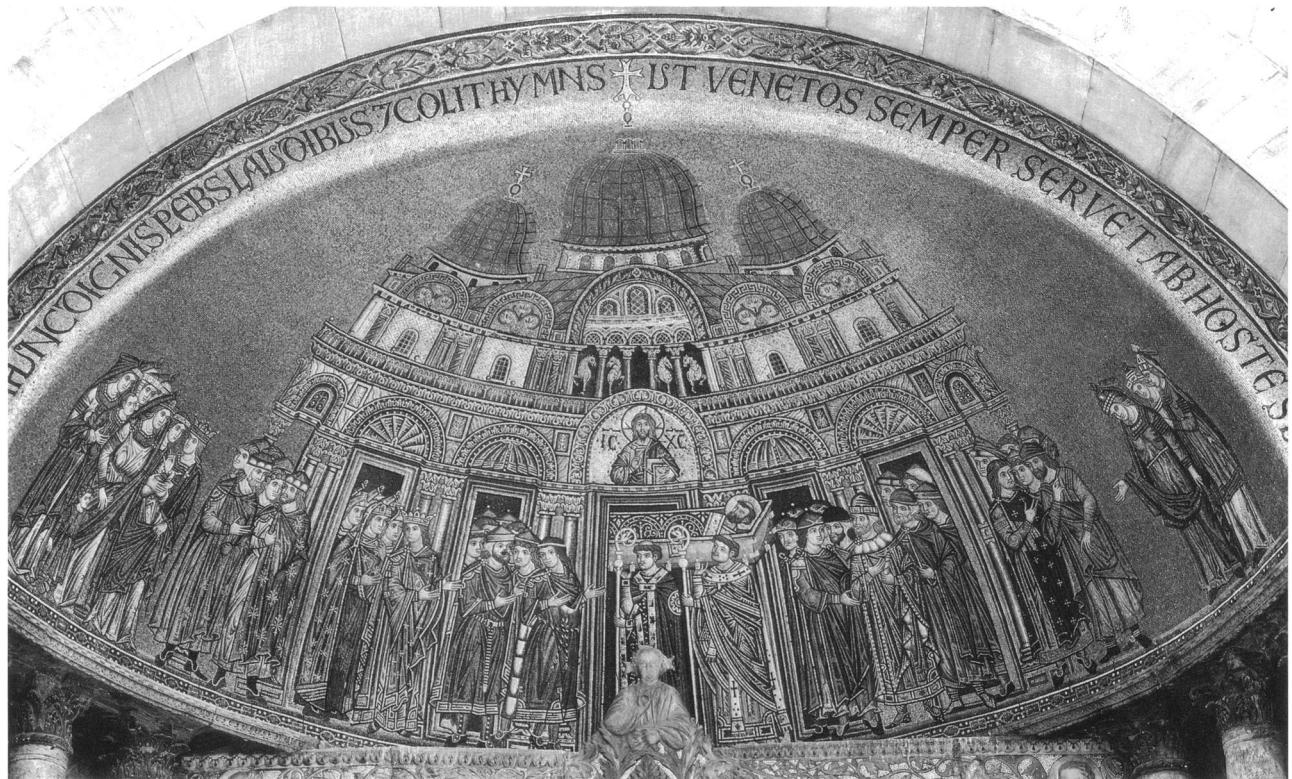
47 Detail of Figure 46: *Invention of Mark's relics in Alexandria* (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



48 Detail of Figure 46: Transfer of relics to Venetian ship, departure for Venice  
(photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



49 Detail of Figure 46: Arrival and reception of relics in Venice (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)



50 Venice, San Marco, west facade, Porta Sant'Alipio: Deposition of Mark's relics in San Marco (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

apostolic authority.<sup>56</sup> The second episode portrays Mark baptizing a bearded saint before a multitude (Fig. 6).<sup>57</sup> The anonymous catechumen is often assumed to be Anianus, but in the enamel depicting his healing (Fig. 9), Anianus is distinguished from the neophyte in question by his curly hair and by the absence of a nimbus.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, the facial type and presence of a nimbus suggest that it is Hermagoras whom Mark baptizes. This episode, though not mentioned in the text of the legend, would be a necessary precondition for his consecration as bishop. Its inclusion here would emphasize further the role of Mark in the foundation of the church of Aquileia. The third panel, labeled “St. Mark conducts St. Hermagoras to Peter,” completes Mark’s Aquileian mission (Fig. 7).<sup>59</sup> The architectural frame and general composition mirror those in the first panel, thus reinforcing visually the role of Peter in Mark’s Italian apostolate.

The subsequent four panels concern Mark’s mission in Egypt. Panels 4 and 5 depict miracles. The evangelist causes an idol to fall from a column in Pentapolis (Fig. 8),<sup>60</sup> and in Alexandria, he heals the hand of the cobbler, Anianus, injured while fixing the evangelist’s boot (Fig. 9).<sup>61</sup> The sixth and seventh panels represent Mark’s *Passio*. Panel 6 shows Mark captured by pagans as he celebrates the Easter mass (Fig. 10). In the *Passio* texts, this episode is the prelude to Mark’s imprisonment and martyrdom by being dragged through the streets of the city, but in both the Pala d’Oro and the later mosaics of the Cappella San Pietro, this scene replaces the saint’s martyrdom. Indeed the inscription, “SUSPENDITUR BEATUS MARCUS,” suggests that Mark was actually martyred by hanging. What dictated the decision to show the mass and martyrdom simultaneously was probably the desire to reinforce the relationship between the eucharistic sacrifice of Christ on the altar and the patron saint’s martyrdom embodied in the relics buried beneath it.<sup>62</sup>

Mark’s vision of Christ in Prison at Alexandria, which completes this section of the cycle, demonstrates that he is worthy to be ranked among the apostles (Fig. 11). As the text emphasizes, Christ appeared to him “in the same form and appearance, by which

<sup>56</sup>Against Volbach and Polacco’s identification of this episode as “Saint Peter confers the episcopal dignity upon Saint Mark,” it must be emphasized that Mark is not dressed in episcopal attire and both Venetian and Aquileian texts of the legend refer only to Peter commissioning Mark to preach the Gospel, not his consecration as Bishop. This is a claim that will be made explicitly through costume and inscription in the mid-twelfth-century mosaics of the Cappella San Pietro in the Venetian basilica. R. Polacco, “The Pala d’Oro,” in *Patriarchal Basilica*, II, 227–38, esp. 235; Hahnloser, *La Pala d’Oro*, 35, no. 72.

<sup>57</sup>“HIC BAPTIZAT BEATUS MARCUS.”

<sup>58</sup>Polacco, “The Pala d’Oro,” in *Patriarchal Basilica*, II, 234; Hahnloser, *La Pala d’Oro*, 34, no. 69. Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 59, more cautiously labels it as “Mark baptizing.” In the Cappella Zen, in contrast to the figure in question, Anianus appears unimbed (Fig. 45).

<sup>59</sup>DEFERT BEATUS MARCUS HERMA(C)HORA(M) AD P(ETRUM).”

<sup>60</sup>If the inscription, “DESTRUIT YDOLU(M) BEATUS MARCUS,” is vague, the textual sources help narrow down the location. While the Alexandrians are described as idolators, the destruction of idols is specifically mentioned only during the first mission to Pentapolis. See Odericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pars I, lib. II, cap. XX in PL CLXXXVIII, 182A: “Plurimi siquidem haec videntes crediderunt, idola sua destruxerunt, lucosque succidereunt et . . . baptizati sunt.”; “Apostolatus Alexandrinus, Martyrium” in *ActaSS*, Aprilis, III (Rome, 1866), 350E: “Videntes haec plurimi per eum in Dominum Jesum crediderunt; et destruentes idola sua ac lucos succidentes, baptizati sunt . . .”

<sup>61</sup>“SANATUR ANIANUS BENEDICTIONE S(AN)C(T)I MARCI.”

<sup>62</sup>By contrast, H. R. Hahnloser, “Magistra Latinitas und Peritia Greca,” in *Festschrift Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), 77–93, esp. 89, assumes that this martyrdom by strangulation was invented for Mark on the basis of a compositional source employed by the artist.

He had appeared to his disciples. . . ." Christ's famous words of comfort to the evangelist, later incorporated into the motto of Venice and interpolated into the *Praedestinatio* legend by Andrea Dandolo, are paraphrased in the inscription above the scene: "PAX TIBI EVANGELISTA MEUS MARCE."<sup>63</sup> This scene is an appropriate pendant for the fourth panel at the beginning of the Alexandrian mission (Plan 3.4 and 7; Fig. 8). In the former, St. Mark proves the impotence of pagan gods by destroying an idol. In the latter, Christ appears as the True God to promise Mark peace. As if to emphasize that one scene is the antitype of the other, the two panels are composed as mirror images, and in the reconstruction of their original disposition that I have proposed, they would have appeared opposite one another, across the central axis of the series. Thus, Mark stands at right and looks up to behold Christ, whose half-length figure leaning down from the arc of heaven echoes the toppling idol of the earlier panel.

The last three panels of the series are devoted to the translation of Mark's relics to Venice.<sup>64</sup> In panel 8, the two Venetian merchants, Bonus Tribunus and Rusticus remove Mark's body from his tomb outside the city (Fig. 12).<sup>65</sup> Panel 9 depicts the voyage of the relics in a straightforward fashion with the two merchants aboard a single-masted ship with a square sail (Fig. 13): the miraculous intervention of Mark to save the Venetians from shipwreck, described in the *Translatio* text is omitted.<sup>66</sup> The concluding episode, the Reception of the Relics in Venice, sketches an interesting portrait of three branches of Venetian society united by the possession of the relics (Fig. 14).<sup>67</sup> In the center, the casket is borne into the city by the two merchants; at left stands a group of soldiers, hailing the relics with banners; and at right, Bishop Ursus of Olivolo-Castello and the Venetian clergy receive the relics in front of a single-domed church. In contrast to later versions of this episode, the doge himself is absent. This might suggest that the enamel portrays the initial reception of the relics by Ursus at Olivolo-Castello prior to the procession to the Ducal Palace. However, it is just as likely that the Venetians wanted to show, anachronistically, the more important event of the dedication of the first ducal basilica to Mark described at the conclusion of the translation narrative.<sup>68</sup>

This pictorial narrative enhances the role of Mark in the foundation of the church of Aquileia at the expense of Hermagoras. Mark is given the *baculum* of apostolic authority by Peter; Hermagoras is merely presented to Peter as a candidate for ordination and is

<sup>63</sup> *ActaSS*, Aprilis, III, 351C-D.8: ". . . venit ad eum Dominus Jesus Christus in ea forma et in habitu, quo fuerat cum discipulis suis, antequam pateretur, et ait ei: Pax tibi, Marce, noster Evangelista. Et ille respondit, Domine mi Jesu Christe. Et abiit." In his *Chronicon Venetum* (ed. E. Pastorello in RISS, XII, 2nd ed. [Bologna, 1938], 10), Andrea Dandolo conflates this vision with the uniquely Venetian "Praedestinatio": the angel sanctions the translation of the relics to Venice and the building of the city of Venice, modifying Christ's words to: "Pax tibi, Marce. Hic requiescat corpus tuum."

<sup>64</sup> See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 88–94; McCleary, "Note."

<sup>65</sup> "TOLLITUR BEATUS MARCUS DE ALEXANDRIA".

<sup>66</sup> The inscription reads: "HIC DEFERTUR CORPUS S(AN)C(T)I MARCI." For the miraculous salvation of the Venetian ship by Mark, see McCleary, "Note," 258–59, 11. 21–4.

<sup>67</sup> "HIC SUSCIPIT VE(NET)IA BEATU(M) MARCU(M)."

<sup>68</sup> McCleary, "Note," 260–62. The doge may have been mistakenly omitted by the Byzantine craftsman, who used a conventional translation image as his model. Although the architecture is fairly generic, it is also possible that the artist intended to represent the first basilica of San Marco, which is described in both the *Translatio* and the *Cronacaon Altinate* as resembling the (single-domed) Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. See Demus, *The Church*, 64–69.

time this series of enamels, which was designed for the altar over the tomb of St. Mark, appropriately emphasizes the evangelist's *Passio* in Alexandria and the translation of his relics to Venice. Thus, both the apse narrative, which served as a backdrop to the altar, and the Pala d'Oro visually confirmed the presence of the relics, recently "invented" and reburied in the newly consecrated apostle's church.<sup>69</sup>

#### *IV. Venetian Patriarchate and Dogate in the Choir Chapels of San Marco*

A new statement of the spiritual and temporal authority assumed by Venice through Mark appears fifty years later on the vaults and upper walls of the two chapels flanking the choir of San Marco (Plan 2.3–6). This version of the Marcian narrative ambitiously documents the evangelist's pre-Venetian career as well as the translation of his relics, strengthening the argument with papal writ and divine intercession.

These mosaics are difficult to place on stylistic grounds alone because of their rather "provincial" character and poor state of preservation;<sup>70</sup> nonetheless, certain well-preserved figures reveal strong affinities with the early phase of the so-called Comnenian Baroque style of Byzantine art.<sup>71</sup> A mid-twelfth-century dating would also be in keeping with the inscription in the Cappella San Clemente, which appears to record the initiation of the marble revetment there by a certain Petrus in 1159,<sup>72</sup> and as I will later suggest, there is also compelling iconographic evidence for a date shortly after 1155. Suffice it to say here that specific elements of the new program reflect the consolidation of Venetian political and ecclesiastical authority in Dalmatia and Istria as well as internal changes within the Venetian city-state, redefining the respective roles of the doge, the people, and the patriarch.

The newly invented pictorial narrative comprises four unequal sections containing eighteen scenes altogether (Plan 4). The decoration of the first chapel states succinctly the jurisdictional claims of the Venetian church and the foundation for the religious myth of the Venetian state.<sup>73</sup> The first phase of the Venetian myth, recounted on the west side of the vault, transpires in Aquileia. It explains how Christianity came to the Upper Adri-

<sup>69</sup>Cf. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro," 279. For the eleventh-century invention, see Tramontin, "Realtà e leggenda," 54–57 and R. Cessi, "L'apparitio sancti Marci" del 1094," *AVen*, series 5, 85 (1964), 113–15.

<sup>70</sup>Demus, *Mosaics*, I.1, 82–83; idem, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco* (Baden, 1935), 37–38; S. Bettini, *Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), 23–24; G. Gombosi, "Il più antico ciclone di mosaici di San Marco," *Dedalo* 13 (1933), 323 ff.

<sup>71</sup>For example, the striding stance, the gently fluttering hems, the teardrop-shaped "damp fold" pressed over the knee and shoulder, and the generally strong linear pattern of the drapery exhibited by the figure of St. Hermagoras in the Baptism scene find close analogies in the famous annunciate Gabriel of Pskov (V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* [London, 1966], fig. 78). The more subdued, elongated inverted "v-folds" nested over the legs of stationary figures such as Peter in the Consecration of Hermagoras or Mark in the Healing of Anianus are paralleled in other figures from Pskov, such as Peter, who appears behind the Samaritan Woman (Lazarev, *ibid.*, fig. 83).

<sup>72</sup>The inscription, which is incised in marble strips at the summit of the marble revetment on the south wall of the Cappella S. Clemente is transcribed by Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 82, as follows: "+ ANN(O) D(OMI-NI).C.L VIII CV(M) DVX VITALIS MICHAEL GOT. . . (C)EPIT TABULAS PETRUS A DD . . . EPIT." Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro*, 217, proposes that "tabula" could refer to "pannello musivo" and on this basis, dates the mosaic decoration of the choir chapel shortly *after* 1159. Against such an interpretation, Demus, *ibid.*, 329 n. 135, points out that the inscription is executed in marble rather than mosaic and that the term "tabula" is indeed used to denote marble revetment in another inscription at San Marco itself.

<sup>73</sup>On the evolution of Venice's "religious myth"—which I distinguish from the city's other "myths" concerning its foundation by Trojans and its unusual form of government—see, Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 78–92; A.

atic region through the mission of Mark at the behest of Peter (Fig. 15). In contrast to the Pala d’Oro, where Peter commissions Mark as apostle to Aquileia, this new version has Peter consecrate him as first bishop of Aquileia. The shift in meaning is conveyed by Mark’s episcopal insignia comprising miter and *pallium*, and by the inscription, “MARCUS SACRATUR.”

The *pallium* is particularly significant. As numerous documents assembled by Robert Benson affirm, a metropolitan could not legally exercise his authority before receiving the *pallium* from the pope. Thus, the section “De consecratione” of the *Decretum of Gratian* dictates, on the authority of Pope Pelagius I, that “neither archbishop, nor primate, nor patriarch may consecrate bishops before he has received the pallium.”<sup>74</sup> Paschal II is more precise: “With the pallium, brother, the fullness of the episcopal office is granted . . . since according to the custom of the Apostolic See and of all Europe, before he has received the pallium, a metropolitan is not allowed to consecrate bishops or to hold a synod.”<sup>75</sup> Finally, Innocent III pressed harder for papal control over the archiepiscopal office, declaring that the metropolitan who had not yet received the *pallium*, even after his consecration, had no right either to the “plenitudo officii pontificalis” or to the title, “archiepiscopus.”<sup>76</sup>

In the next two scenes on the same register, Mark’s mission to Aquileia is recorded in the healing and baptism of the leper, Athaulf, whom the Aquileian legend describes as the first convert to Christianity there.<sup>77</sup> In the lower register, the placement of the Consecration of Hermagoras by Peter, directly on axis with the Consecration of Mark, visually demotes Hermagoras to second position in the patriarchal succession. Hermagoras’ own mission is confined to a generic scene of baptism, continuing Mark’s mission from the register above.

Subsequent episodes in the eastern half of the vault fill the narrative gap between Aquileia and Venice, tracing the evangelist’s career in Pentapolis and Alexandria, his final resting place. In the upper register (Fig. 16), conventional scenes of preaching and baptism stand for the mission in Pentapolis on the way to Alexandria.<sup>78</sup> The first scene of the lower register conflates two episodes (Fig. 17): as Mark speeds off to Alexandria

Carile, “Le origini di Venezia nella tradizione storiografica,” in *Storia della cultura veneta* (Vicenza, 1976), 135–66; Demus, *The Church*, 30–43; and R. Cessi, “Nova Aquileia,” *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 88 (1928–29), 542–94.

<sup>74</sup>“Episcopos autem ordinare ante pallium acceptum nec archiepiscopo, nec primati, nec patriarchae licet . . .” *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, pars I. 100, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879), 351–52. Cf. R. Benson, *Bishop Elect, A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968), 167 ff.

<sup>75</sup>*Liber extra, Decretales Gregorii IX*, Lib. 1, Tit. 6, Cap. 4: “In pallio, frater, plenitudo conceditur pontificalis officii . . . quia iuxta sedis apostolicae et totius Europae consuetudinem ante acceptum pallium metropolitanus minime licet aut consecrare episcopos, aut synodus celebrare.” Trans. in Benson, *Bishop-elect*, 169–70.

<sup>76</sup>*Liber extra, Decretales Gregorii IX*, Lib. 1, Tit. 8, Cap. 3: “non tamen deberet se archiepiscoporum appellare prius, quam a nobis pallium suscepisset, in quo pontificalis officii plenitudo cum archiepiscopalibus nominis appellatione confertur.” Benson, *Bishop-elect*, 171.

<sup>77</sup>The inscriptions above these two scenes, read “LEPRAM SANAT” and “ATRA LAVATUR.”

<sup>78</sup>A single inscription describes both scenes: “MENTIBUS UT SURGANT DOCET HOS BAPTISMATE PURGANS.” Cf. Odericus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pars I, lib. II, 20, PL CLXXXVIII, 182A: “Cum ergo Marcus Cyrenem, quae est apud Pentapolim, pervenisset . . . exordium faciens divini sermonis in nomine Domini medelam contulit infirmis. . . . Plurimi siquidem haec videntes crediderunt . . . et in nomine Domini . . . baptizati sunt.”

by ship, an angel urges him in his departure.<sup>79</sup> This seemingly insignificant scene may have been included to emphasize the saint's patronage of Venetian shipping, but it also foreshadows another divinely sanctioned voyage that brings the remains of the saint from Alexandria to Venice. The second image portrays the most prominent miracle of his Alexandrian mission already included in the Pala d'Oro: the healing of Anianus.<sup>80</sup>

The cycle of the Cappella San Pietro concludes in the northern lunette with two episodes essential for establishing the pre-Venetian history of the relics (Fig. 18). At left, as in the Pala d'Oro (Fig. 10), Mark's capture by the pagans during the Easter mass is transformed into his martyrdom. Corresponding to the image rather than the texts of the *Passio*, the inscription records the suffocation of the saint.<sup>81</sup> At right, Mark, fully vested as Bishop of Alexandria, is entombed in the presence of another bishop who must be identified as his successor Anianus. As in the Pala d'Oro, the conflation of the Capture of Mark with his martyrdom and the prominent display of the altar in both of these scenes visually link the relics of Mark with the altar dedicated to him in the sanctuary below.

As a footnote to this pre-Venetian phase of the legend, Pope Pelagius II and Patriarch Helias of Grado appear in the lower level of the chapel, on either side of the arch opening into the choir (Figs. 19 and 20).<sup>82</sup> They embody the second major phase in the Venetian acquisition of Mark's patronage: the alleged transfer of the metropolitan see of Aquileia to Grado in 579. The inscription of Pelagius' scroll reads as follows: "Because we cannot deny your just petitions, Venerable Father, we confirm through the content of our privilege that the castrum of Grado is the metropolitan of all Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia."<sup>83</sup> The inscriptions labeling the two figures summarize this exchange. Helias petitions to the pope, "I request, Father, that Grado be made the Metropolitan of the Venetians" and Pelagius responds, "So be it (the Metropolitan) of the Venetian, Istrian, and Dalmatian peoples."<sup>84</sup>

The cycle of seven scenes in the Cappella di San Clemente focuses exclusively on the translation of Mark to Venice in 828. It begins in the upper register of the west vault with the removal of the relics from the tomb and their transfer in baskets of pork to the ship (Fig. 21). Following closely the *Translatio* text, the two merchants Tribunus and Rusticus are assisted by two Orthodox custodians, Theodore Presbyter and the monk Stauracius. Their presence helps justify the Venetian theft: after much discussion with Tribunus

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 182B: "Dehinc revelatur ei per Spiritum sanctum ut pergeret ad Alexandriae fanum. Marcus igitur fratribus valedixit, et quod ei divinitus revelatum fuerat detexit. At illi usque ad navem ipsum prosecuti sunt . . . Die autem septimo Alexandriam pervenit, et de navicula egressus ad urbem properavit."

<sup>80</sup>A single inscription describes both scenes: "NUNCIAT HIC FUGIT SUTORIS VULNERA TERGIT."

<sup>81</sup>"QUEM SUFFOCANTES TREMUNT (=premunt?). . ." The correction is proposed by Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 64.

<sup>82</sup>The figure of Helias was heavily restored in the fifteenth century, when the figure of Nicholas of Tolentino was added. The iconography of Helias and the accompanying inscription appear to be faithful to the original. See Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 55.

<sup>83</sup>"QUIA IUSTIS PETITIONIBUS TUIS VENERANDE FRATER, CONTRADICERE NEQUIMUS, PER NOSTRI PRIVILEGII SERIEM CONFIRMAMUS GRADENSE CASTRUM METROPOLIM TOTIUS VENETIAE HISTRIAIE ATQUE DALMATIAE." See Demus, *The Church*, 39–40, and idem, *Mosaics*, I, 56.

<sup>84</sup>Helias: "METROPOLIM ROGITO, PATER, ESSE GRADUM VENETORUM"; Pelagius: "SIT VENETIS ISTRIS POPULIS ET DALMATICORUM."

and Rusticus, the custodians agree to help the Venetians remove the relics to Venice in order to save them from profanation by the Saracens.<sup>85</sup>

The two custodians appear again in the lower register, where they stand guard as the Moslem officials inspect the Venetian ship (Fig. 22). Repelled by the sight of unclean meat, the inspectors turn away, uttering as the inscriptions affirm, “Kanzir, kanzir”—that is, “Pork, pork!” The narrative continues around the corner in the south lunette with the departure of the ship from Alexandria (Fig. 23). Then, instead of proceeding across the lunette on the other side of the window, the story resumes in the top register of the west side of the vault (Fig. 24). A single episode, not included in the Pala d’Oro, fills the entire space: Mark saving the Venetians from shipwreck. Thus, in parallel to the divinely sanctioned journey to Alexandria, the saint himself authorizes the translation of his relics back to Italy. Here we see in embryo a Venetian predilection for divine sanction, which evolved into the *Praedestinatio* myth of the thirteenth century.<sup>86</sup>

The last and most impressive of all the images in the cycle is the reception of the relics in Venice (Figs. 25 and 26). This crucial episode in the history of Venice’s identification with Mark stands out for two reasons. It occupies a disproportionately large space spanning the north lunette and lower register of the west vault, and it transforms narrative action into a stationary group portrait. On the north wall, the relic ship has arrived in port, sails furled in preparation for disembarkation. The Venetian merchants and their Greek collaborators raise their arms to salute the dignitaries on shore. The relics, the presence of which is only implied, are received across the actual space of the corner of the chapel by a solemn procession of Venetian dignitaries, named in the inscription as pontiffs, clergy, the people, and the doge.<sup>87</sup> Tightly packed in the left half of this register, this group of figures has evidently just moved out of the palace to receive the relics arriving from the south, leaving a wide empty space between themselves and the city.<sup>88</sup>

The configuration of the Venetian populace in this new version of the reception of relics strikes a remarkable contrast to the conventional translation image of the Pala d’Oro (Fig. 14). On the enamel, a group of clergy, headed by a deacon thurifer and Bishop Ursus holding a processional cross, stands in front of a church to receive the reliquary chest from the three merchants. In the mosaic, we see instead the contemporary Venetian governing class, comprising both clergy and laity standing before an abbreviated image of the city. While the enamel, like the text of the *Translatio*, records only Bishop Ursus of Olivolo-Castello receiving the relics from the merchants, the mosaic depicts the doge with his counselors and no less than seven bishops.

Within this array of frontal portraits, the leading bishop and doge form two comple-

<sup>85</sup> McCleary, “Note,” 250–55.

<sup>86</sup> Immediately following the saint’s intervention to save the Venetians from shipwreck, the advent of the relics of Mark is revealed “a domino” to the inhabitants of Dalmatia and Istria as the ship passes their coasts. McCleary, “Note,” 259, 11. 1–18.

<sup>87</sup> “PONTIFICES CLERUS P(O)P(U)L(U)S DUX M(E)NTE SERENUS LAUDIBUS ATQUE CHORIS EXCIPIUNT DULCE [CORPUS SCI MARCI] CANORIS.” Cf. Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 68, and H. Hubach, “Pontifices, Clerus: Populus, Dux. Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung und zum historischen Hintergrund des ältesten venezianischen Gesellschaftsbildes,” manuscript of a lecture given at the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani in Venice in 1991; kindly made available to me by the institute’s library.

<sup>88</sup> Demus observes that the present group of three patricians dates from the end of the nineteenth century and replaces two Renaissance-style figures recorded in engravings executed in the 1880s. See Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 68 and fig. 69.

mentary foci. At left, flanked by two groups of bishops, appears what should be the figure of Bishop Ursus of Olivolo-Castello, whom the translation text has receive the relics. In the mosaic, however, the central bishop is more richly vested than his colleagues and wears the archiepiscopal pallium; what is more, the bishops on either side show deference to him by supporting his arms. Thus, Demus has reasonably argued that the mosaicist intended to portray the patriarch of Grado.<sup>89</sup> The doge himself provides a second focus to the patriarch's left, accompanied by a sword-bearer and four other patricians. Together, the two groups have moved from the distant colonnade at right in a well-ordered procession that evokes the civic ritual for which Venice was so well known up until the demise of the Republic at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup>

This part of the legend naturally receives unusual attention, for this is the very act by which Venice usurped the patronage of Mark the Evangelist from Aquileia in order to invent its own sacred history. What has not previously been observed is the significance of placing the image in this precise location. In the first place, the Cappella San Clemente was the space customarily occupied by the doge and his entourage—including, on occasion, the patriarch of Grado.<sup>91</sup> Thus, this portrait insinuates the privileged ducal presence within the choir of his chapel.

The reception of the relics is also positioned to reinforce a sacred topography within the basilica. For it is here, at the juncture of the Cappella San Clemente, the south transept, and the ducal palace that the original deposition of the relics by Doge Justinian Partecipacius “in sui palatii angulo” was commemorated.<sup>92</sup> The thirteenth-century legend of the “Apparitio” records that in 1094, when the Venetians were praying for the recovery of Mark’s relics in order to consecrate the new church, they were miraculously revealed within the southeast pier of the crossing, which was believed to incorporate part of the original ninth-century chapel of San Marco.<sup>93</sup>

Although the mosaics of the *Apparitio* opposite the reliquary pier date from the second half of the thirteenth century (Figs. 40–41), an early twelfth-century mosaic of the Deposition of Christ, discovered in 1954 beneath the marble revetment on the west face of the northeast leg of the same pier, provides prior testimony to the sanctity of this

<sup>89</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 68–69, and idem, “Die älteste venezianische Gesellschaftsbild,” *JÖB* 1 (1951), 89–101.

<sup>90</sup> Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 185 ff.

<sup>91</sup> Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 204, and Demus, *The Church*, 49–50. Sinding-Larsen observes that, contrary to Demus’ suggestion, there is no evidence of the patriarch ever having a fixed seat within San Marco, but upon invitation, the patriarch would have joined the doge and his retinue in the Cappella San Clemente. The possibility of the doge occupying the organ loft immediately beneath the mosaic has also been proposed by Demus, but again there is no proof. Demus points to a passage from Martino da Canal’s *Estoires de Venise*, which mentions the doge attending part of the mass from “de sor li percle” but the “pergola” in question is more likely the porphyry pulpit on the epistle side of the crossing. See A. Limentani, “Martino da Canal, la basilica di San Marco e le arti figurative,” in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y. Riou (Poitiers, 1966), II, 1177–90, especially 1184–90.

<sup>92</sup> This information comes from the eleventh-century chronicle of Iohannes Diaconus, *Chronicon Venetum*, ed. Monticolo, *Cronache*, I, 110: “in sui palatii angulo peragere fecit capellam, ubi illud (the body of Mark) reconditum possit reservari, interimque esset ecclesia expleta.” Cf. Demus, *The Church*, 63.

<sup>93</sup> O. Demus, “Bermerkungen zu Michelangelo Muraro’s ‘Pilastro del Miracolo,’” in *Interpretazione veneziane: Studi e storia dell’arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984); idem, *Mosaics*, II, 27–32; M. Muraro, “Il pilastro del miracolo e il secondo programma dei mosaici marciani,” *ArtV* 29 (1975), 60 ff. See below, part VI.

corner of the basilica (Plan 2.7; Fig. 27).<sup>94</sup> Mutilated by the installation of Jacopo Sansovino's tribune in 1537–44, only the mosaic's upper left corner survives, and this has been divided into two sections.<sup>95</sup> The section still *in situ* depicts a host of bust-length angels above the transverse arm of the cross. The second section, depicting four grieving women raising draped hands to cover their faces, is now displayed in the Museo di San Marco, but originally belonged immediately beneath the angels. Details of these fragments are so closely replicated in a late twelfth-century fresco in Aquileia Cathedral that the mosaic can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence.<sup>96</sup> Extending approximately two square meters beneath the cornice of the pier, the original mosaic would have featured the Virgin and Joseph of Arimathaea lifting Christ from the cross with Nicodemus and John balancing the group of weeping women at the flanks.

Because it is placed on a pier in isolation from the rest of the christological narrative and is executed in a very refined technique on par with small-scale mosaic icons,<sup>97</sup> this panel appears designed for a particular devotional function. I have proposed elsewhere that it served as the backdrop for the temporary *sepulcrum* used in the Easter liturgy of the basilica.<sup>98</sup> From a sixteenth-century transcription of the ritual in San Marco, we learn that the *sepulcrum* was formerly erected "ad parietem chori."<sup>99</sup> Though somewhat vague, this wording would allow the location that I am proposing. What is more, the juxtaposition of the symbolic tomb of Christ with the pier associated with the miraculous recovery of Mark's relics in 1094 would have further strengthened the common typologi-

<sup>94</sup> Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro*, 13–17; Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 209–12; G. Galassi, "I nuovi mosaici scoperti in San Marco a Venezia," *ArtV* 9 (1955), 243–48. Prof. Polacco has recently redated the mosaic to the tenth century, proposing it as evidence for the restoration of San Marco I by Doge Pietro I Orseolo (976–78). His arguments concerning the reutilization of an older wall for this pier are plausible (cf. Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*, II, 545–60), but the tenth-century dating of the mosaic may be challenged on the following grounds: 1. Iconographically speaking, the emphasis on the grief among the women and the host of angels would place the mosaic no earlier than the eleventh century. 2. Identical rosette borders appear in the late eleventh-century narthex mosaics and the early twelfth-century mosaics of the choir dome. 3. The surviving borders of the mosaic are perfectly aligned with the northwest corner and the niello cornice of the eleventh-century pier—facts which are impossible to reconcile with a tenth-century dating, since the ninth-century wall section, which extends further to the north in the crypt, has been trimmed in the upper church to fashion the present pier. 4. A reconstruction of the Deposition composition, on the basis of the closely related composition of the fresco in the crypt of Aquileia, conforms perfectly to the width of the eleventh-century pier.

<sup>95</sup> On Sansovino's renovation of the choir, see B. Boucher, "Jacopo Sansovino and the Choir of Saint Mark's," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), 552–66.

<sup>96</sup> An identical group of mourners is found in the fresco of the Deposition; the left-hand angel with outstretched arms in the mosaic is replicated (in reverse) in the Threnos at Aquileia. See Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 209–10, and Brusin and Lorenzoni, *L'arte del patriarcato*, 156.

<sup>97</sup> See O. Demus, *Die Byzantinischen Mosaikiken*, I (=Denk Wien Bd. 224), (Vienna, 1991).

<sup>98</sup> See "Easter, Saint Mark and the Doge: The Deposition Mosaic in the Choir of San Marco in Venice," *Abstracts of the Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (Princeton, 1993), 29–30. For the Western association of the iconography of the Deposition of Christ with the ritual enactment of Christ's entombment during the Easter liturgy, see E. Parker, *The Descent from the Cross: Its Relation to the Extra-Liturgical "Depositio" Drama* (New York, 1978), especially 142–49.

<sup>99</sup> *Rituum ecclesiasticorum ceremoniale* (Venice, 1564) = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. lat. iii. 172 (= 2276), fols. 9v–12v. This is summarized and transcribed in part by Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 215–17. Although the Venetian record of this ceremony is postmediaeval, the Basilica Patriarcale possesses an eleventh-century stone model of the Sepulcher for use in an Easter drama comparable to the one described in the Venetian text. See S. Puissi, "Il Santo Sepulcro di Aquileia," *AntAltArd* 12 (1977), 51–59. On temporary sepulchers used in liturgical drama, see also N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to Liturgical Drama* (Urbana, 1921), 53–58.

cal link between martyr's grave and the tomb of Christ.<sup>100</sup> This typology has special meaning in the case of St. Mark: he was said to have been martyred shortly after celebrating the Easter mass in Alexandria. It may also be for this reason that the Deposition of Christ and the Deposition of Mark's Relics are again paired in the thirteenth-century program of the west facade.<sup>101</sup>

Within the extensive narrative of Mark's career, two compositions stand out: the figures of Pelagius and Helias, recording the translation of the Aquileian patriarchate to Grado, and the reception of the relics of St. Mark. Both images are more portrait-like than narrative and represent substantial departures from the *Translatio* text, which may best be explained in light of contemporary Venetian politics.

Pictorial allusions to the changing political and ecclesiastical situation are particularly clear in the portraits of Pope Pelagius and Patriarch Helias in the Cappella San Pietro. These figures with their accompanying inscriptions constitute a visual document of the alleged transfer of the metropolitan see from Aquileia to Grado in 579 (Figs. 19 and 20). Such an extensive textual display may well have been inspired by twelfth-century frescoes in the Lateran Palace, such as the Donation of Constantine and the Concordat of Worms between Calixtus II and Henry V, both of which reproduced key sections of the text of the agreement held by one or both of the protagonists.<sup>102</sup>

The document in question, like the Donation of Constantine, is a forgery dating as early as the Carolingian period, for the Acts of the Council of Mantua (827) mention the proceedings of a sixth-century synod of Grado attended by all the bishops of Venetia and Istria, as evidence adduced by Grado to support its metropolitan claims.<sup>103</sup> Significantly, it is also mentioned in the prologue of the tenth-century *Translatio* text to lay the ground for the appropriation of Aquileia's founder.<sup>104</sup> Later during the eleventh century, the theory of the permanent translation of the see to "Nova Aquileia" was elaborated upon in a series of Venetian-Gradese sources. According to the *Chronicon Venetum* of John the Deacon, completed in 1008, Patriarch Paulinus I transferred the see and the relics of its patron saints to Grado following the Lombard invasion of 568, naming the island "Aquileia Nova," but it was only in 579 that his successor Helias gained the approval of Pelagius II to institute Grado as the metropolitan see of all Venetia at a synod of twenty bishops from the region.<sup>105</sup> As further recognition of Grado's new status, the chronicler records the donation of the cathedrae of Mark and Hermagoras by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641).<sup>106</sup> The Grado synod and the letter of confirmation by Pelagius are also mentioned in two later Gradese sources of the mid-eleventh

<sup>100</sup>See J. Gagé, "Membra Christi et la déposition des reliques sous l'autel," *R4* (1929), 137–53.

<sup>101</sup>See below, p. 99, Figs. 46 and 50.

<sup>102</sup>See C. Walter, "Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *CahArch* 21 (1971), 109–36, esp. 119–23; G. Ladner, "I mosaici e gli affreschi ecclesiastico-politici nell'antico Palazzo Lateranense," *RACr* 12 (1935), 265–92, fig. 5.

<sup>103</sup>MGH, *Concilii*, II, 589. Cf. Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien*, 29 and Cessi, "Nova Aquileia," 588–94.

<sup>104</sup>McCleary, "Note," 241–43.

<sup>105</sup>Ioannes Diaconus, *Chronicon Venetum*, ed. Monticolo, *Cronache*, I, 62: "in quo etiam loco post paucum tempus Helyas, egregius patriarcha, qui tertius post Paulum regendam suscepit ecclesiam, ex consensu beatissimi pape Pelagii, facta synodo viginti episcoporum, eandem Gradensem urbem totius Venecie metropolym esse instituit."

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., 62–63.

century, both of which interpolate Grado's claim over the Istrian bishoprics into the earlier forgery: the *Chronica de Singulis Patriarchis Nove Aquileie* and the *Chronicon Gradense*.<sup>107</sup>

The Synodal *Acta* and Pope Pelagius II's letter survive only in fourteenth-century manuscripts, but Lenel has convincingly traced their exemplars to the early eleventh century.<sup>108</sup> The letter is particularly important for our understanding of the mosaic of Pelagius in San Marco, for it uses the same language employed in the inscription. Thus, in the forged letter, Pelagius grants the request of the synod: "Therefore, because you have petitioned us, . . . with the consent of your suffragan bishops, that the castrum of Grado should become the metropolitan of all Venetia and indeed of Istria, namely to govern the church . . . we confirm in perpetuity that the above-mentioned castrum of Grado is made metropolitan of all Venice and Istria with all the appurtenances of your church. . . ."<sup>109</sup> The inscription on the scroll held by Pelagius in the mosaics summarizes the Pelagian donation: "Because we cannot deny your just petitions, Venerable Father, we confirm through the content of our privilege that the castrum of Grado is the metropolitan of all Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia."

It is the inclusion of Dalmatia under Grado's jurisdiction that differentiates the mosaic inscriptions from the forged letter of Pelagius and the eleventh-century chronicles. Otto Demus has explained this as an interpolation of the early twelfth century, reflecting Venetian aspirations to bring about a new ecclesiastical order in territories already under its political control.<sup>110</sup> Venetian involvement in Dalmatia had begun as early as 1000, when Pietro II Orseolo led a military expedition there and was honored with the title, *Dux Dalmatiae*. Venetian control of parts of the Byzantine province was realized sporadically between 1069 and 1165 and again, more permanently, from 1202 on.<sup>111</sup> But it was only between 1115 and 1165 that Venice firmly established its political authority over Zara and four smaller Dalmatian cities—Arbe, Veglia, Cherso, and Ossero, while Spalato, Trau, and Ragusa were absorbed into the Hungarian empire. This political division of Dalmatia resulted in the separation of the bishops in the Venetian territory from their metropolitan see in Spalato. Consequently, Anastasius IV exempted Zara from the jurisdiction of Spalato in October 1154 and established it as a new metropolitan to preside over Ossero, Veglia, Arbe, and Lesina. This reorganization of the Dalmatian church within the Venetian territory under a single metropolitan was a necessary precondition for the subjection of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to Venetian control. In a series of three diplomas issued between February 1155 and June 1157, Anastasius IV and his successor

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., I, 5 and 48.

<sup>108</sup> Lenel, *Venezianische-Istrische Studien*, 30 ff, 46 ff, 72 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello in RISS, XII, 2nd ed., pt. I, 82: "Igitur, quia petisti a nobis . . . conscientibus suffraganeis tibi episcopis, quatenus gradense castrum tocius (sic) Venecie(sic) fieri immo et Istri metropolim, ad regendam scilicet ecclesiam . . . suprascriptum castrum Gradense tocius Venecie fieri cum omnibus vestre ecclesie pertinentibus et Istri metropolim perpetuo confirmamus."

<sup>110</sup> Demus, *The Church*, 37 ff.

<sup>111</sup> See J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1978), 235 ff; idem, "La Dalmazia fra Bisanzio, Venezia e l'Ungheria ai Tempi di Manuele Comneno," in *Byzantium on the Balkans*, ed. J. Ferluga (Amsterdam, 1976), 193–213; and J. Duša, *The Mediaeval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities: Development and Transformation* (New York, 1991), esp. 45–50 and 55 ff.

Hadrian IV subjected the newly erected archbishopric of Zara to the authority of the Venetian-controlled see of Grado.<sup>112</sup>

The significance of these last events for the genesis of the choir mosaics has not been adequately assessed. By placing Zara under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Grado, the pope did not merely add territory to the Venetian metropolitan province. Anastasius and Hadrian explicitly state in these diplomas that they are elevating the dignity of Grado “ex brevitate patriarchatum inferior” by conceding it “primum . . . super Jader-tinum archiepiscopatum et episcopatus ipsius.”<sup>113</sup> As Steindorff and Duša have rightly emphasized, this was a legalistic move calculated to enhance the status of the Venetian-based patriarchate of Grado vis-à-vis its rival at Aquileia.<sup>114</sup> Contrary to canonical tradition, Anastasius placed one metropolitan directly under the authority of another: Grado, which had heretofore exercised ordinary metropolitan authority over other bishoprics, now gained suprametropolitan status and the prerogative to consecrate the archbishops of Zara.

This interpretation of the elevation of Grado is confirmed by a letter of Innocent III to the Doge and People of Venice in 1206, renewing the privilege granted by Anastasius: “The metropolitan dignity was conceded to them by the apostolic see particularly on account of your honor, so that your church would clearly possess the patriarchal dignity not only in name but also in full (legal) right, when the metropolitan of Zara was subjected to it.”<sup>115</sup> Such an unprecedented action was probably motivated by two factors: the papacy wanted to reward the Venetians for assisting it against the Normans, and to punish the patriarchs of Aquileia for adhering to the German-sponsored antipopes throughout the twelfth century. It represented another major about-face in papal policy concerning the age-long ecclesiastical battle between Aquileia and Venice-Grado. As recently as 1132, Aquileia’s authority over the Istrian bishoprics had been confirmed by Pope Innocent II.<sup>116</sup> Now, only two decades later, Anastasius IV was returning them to Venetian tutelage and enhancing the rival patriarchate with suprametropolitan authority in Dalmatia. As Innocent III’s letter suggests, Grado alone could legally claim both title and real authority of a patriarch, since that office was, by definition, ranked above other metropolitans.

By including Istria and Dalmatia, the Pelagian donation mosaic in the Cappella San Clemente visually documents this redistribution of ecclesiastical power, and establishes

<sup>112</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1904), II, nos. 79 and 80.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> L. Steindorff, *Die dalmatischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Cologne, 1984), 74 ff; Duša, *Mediaeval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 59–61.

<sup>115</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Croatiae*, III, no. 55, 61: “. . . metropolitica dignitas propter vestrum honorem specialiter fuit illis ab apostolica sede concessa, ut videlicet ecclesia vestra non solo nomine, sed pleno iure patriarchalem dignitatem haberet, cum ei subiecta fieret metropolis Jadertina. . . .” The excerpt appears within the context of a letter reprimanding the Venetians for battling the Christians of Zara on their way to the Fourth Crusade.

<sup>116</sup> Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 62–63; Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, VII.2, 35, no. 79. The Istrian bishoprics—Pola, Trieste, Parenzo—are included at the outset of the privilege: “Innocentius II peregrino Aquileien. patriarchae . . . concedit ei et per eum aquileien. eccl. potestatem metropoliticam super 16 episcopatus, videlicet Polen., tergestin., parentin. . . .”

1155–57 as a probable *terminus post quem* for the Mark cycle of the choir.<sup>117</sup> It is unlikely that the decoration was executed after 1180. In this year, the dispute between Aquileia and Grado was officially resolved under the auspices of Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa. Enrico Dandolo, patriarch of Grado, agreed to renounce any jurisdictional claims over the Istrian bishoprics, which were henceforth to be governed by the patriarch of Aquileia.<sup>118</sup> In the same year, Venice lost political control over the Dalmatian territories, as Zara rebelled against Venice for the third time since 1159 and placed itself under the protection of Hungary. Although a diploma was issued by Urban III in 1186 confirming Grado's primacy over Dalmatia, the exercise of that authority cannot have been possible until the reconquest of the territory by Venice in 1202.<sup>119</sup>

The placement of the mosaics of Pelagius and Helias at the opening between the Cappella San Clemente and the sanctuary has been interpreted by Demus as a pictorial clue to the position of the patriarch's seat within the basilica, but that, as Sinding-Larsen has determined, must have been on the opposite side with the doge.<sup>120</sup> Instead, the position of these highly political mosaics suggests their function as a pictorial gloss on the mosaics in the vault above, which, in contrast to the narrative enamels of the Pala d'Oro, place heavy emphasis on the foundation of the Aquileian church by Mark and the apostolic succession. This association of Mark with the Upper Adriatic was the first step in the construction of the religious myth of Venice as the people of Mark. The so-called Grado Theory, the second step, represented by the alleged Pelagian privilege of the sixth-century, laid the foundations for an independent Venetian church, appropriating the Aquileian accession for Grado as the "Aquileia Nova" and extending its jurisdiction by the late twelfth century to encompass the territories in Istria and Dalmatia under Venetian rule.

The reception of the relics (Fig. 26), which marks the third phase in Venice's self-definition as an independent state, is likewise a form of pictorial document. Its function as an official portrait of the Venetian Commune is suggested in the first place by its inscription: "The pontiffs, clergy, people and the Doge, serene in disposition, welcome the beloved (body of St. Mark) with praises and melodious songs." This enumerates the four major constituencies: the bishops ("pontiffs") and their subject clergy, doge and the patricians ("populus") responsible for electing him. Although the doge appears last in the sequence, his elevated status is indicated by "Serenus," an honorific epithet of medieval rulers later extended to describe the Venetian republic as a whole as a "serene" society.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup>The renewal of Gradiense tutelage over the Istrian bishoprics is alluded to indirectly in the bull issued by Anastasius IV to Henricus of Grado on 13 June 1157. Here, the pope states that he is renewing the privileges granted by his predecessors, Pelagius, Alexander, Urban II, Hadrian, and Leo IX, the last of whom had restored the Istrian bishops to Grado's jurisdiction in 1053. See *Codex Diplomaticus Croatiae*, II, 82.

<sup>118</sup>See below, note 152.

<sup>119</sup>For the diploma of Urban III, see Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 1131–32.

<sup>120</sup>Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 204.

<sup>121</sup>For the Latin text, see above, note 87. On the history of ducal titles, see V. Lazzarini, "I titoli dei dogi di Venezia," *NAVen*, 3rd Series, 5 (1903), 273–313; see esp. 308 for a document of 1095 in which Vitale Falier is described as "serenissimo duce." For the general attribution of the epithets "serenitas," "serenus," and "serenissimus" to Western rulers and clerics, see C. du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, repr. (Graz, 1954), VI, 436 and *Glossarium diplomaticum*, ed. E. Brinckmeier (Hamburg, 1855), 541.

As Demus has noted, the Venetian portrait also acquires an air of authority by its compositional borrowing from the most venerable model in the region, the portrait of the emperor Justinian and Archbishop Maximianus at San Vitale in Ravenna.<sup>122</sup> In both cases, pontiff and ruler, frontally arrayed with their respective entourages within a shallow foreground space, stand apart as competing foci within the image. But whereas Justinian's status is enhanced by the fact that he overlaps all of the other figures—including Maximianus—and occupies the central axis of the composition, at San Marco it is the patriarch of Grado who appears to take precedence over the doge by virtue of his larger entourage and the distinctive cruciform gesture of his arms extended with the aid of two suffragans to receive the relics of Mark.

This imbalanced portrait of Venetian church and state again recalls conventions of contemporary political images in the Lateran Palace, such as the Concordat of Worms, in which the emperor appears with his sword-bearer and a few followers before the pope and his much larger entourage of cardinals.<sup>123</sup> The gesture of the patriarch's arms, supported by flanking bishops, likewise seems to have been borrowed from the vocabulary of papal portraits to indicate the elevated pontifical dignity: in a late eleventh-century fresco at San Clemente in Rome, Pope Nicholas uses the same gesture as he accompanies the relics of his predecessor Clement into the church.<sup>124</sup>

Events of the 1140s may explain the favored status of the patriarch in our mosaic. Between 1143 and 1148, Patriarch Enrico Dandolo (1132/34–1182) and Doge Pietro Polani (1130–48) were embroiled in a brief investitū controversy.<sup>125</sup> The dispute arose after the doge exercised a long-standing prerogative to appoint the abbess of San Zaccharia in 1143 and the bishop of Castello refused to accept the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Grado.<sup>126</sup> In an effort to reassert his authority, Dandolo took his case to Rome. His fourteenth-century descendant, Andrea Dandolo, records that the conflict came to a head after a series of popes from Innocent II to Eugenius II failed to resolve it: Eugenius excommunicated the doge in 1147 and the doge sent Enrico Dandolo into exile the following year.<sup>127</sup> In 1149 however, the new doge, Domenico Morosini, allowed Dandolo to return to his see. Together they concluded a concord which confirmed the patriarch's prerogative to invest all bishops and abbots in the Venetian lagoon, but excluded him

<sup>122</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 70. Illustrated in O. Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1987), pl. 2.

<sup>123</sup> Walter, "Political Imagery in the Mediaeval Lateran Palace," 162–66, figs. 8 and 9; Ladner, "I mosaici e gli affreschi ecclesiastico-politici," 272–73. See above, p. 73 at note 102.

<sup>124</sup> F. Guidobaldi, *San Clemente: Gli edifici romani, la basilica paleocristiana e le fasi altomedievali*, San Clemente Miscellany IV, 1 (Rome, 1992), fig. 234; H. Toubert, "Rome et le Mont-Cassin: Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome," *DOP* 30 (1976), 1–33, especially 16–21. On the gesture of the supported arms, see M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague, 1973), 17–36.

<sup>125</sup> Demus, *The Church*, 42–43; V. Piva, *Il patriarcato di Venezia e le sue origini*, Studium Cattolico Veneziano, Collana Storica II (Venice, 1939), I, 102–3; P. Kehr, "Rom und Venedig bis ins XII. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 19 (1927), 1–180, esp. 129–35; Kretschmeyer, *Geschichte von Venedig*, I, 246–47.

<sup>126</sup> Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello in RISS, XII, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1937), 242–43, ll. 25 ff. For the papal correspondence, see Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* (Berlin, 1925), VII, pt. 2, 21–22, nos. 41–46.

from exercising any temporal authority at the ducal court.<sup>127</sup> The mosaic appears to confirm this agreement by featuring the patriarch so prominently in the company of his suffragans and the doge himself.

The specific configuration of the lay delegation likewise reflects political developments around 1150. According to Hanns Hubach, the precedence of *populus* over *dux* in the inscription and the association of the doge's sword-bearer with the patrician class in the mosaic allude to the evolving communal government in which the doge ceded much of his authority to an elected body of patricians, the *consilium sapientum*.<sup>128</sup> Domenico Morosini, the same doge who achieved peace with the Venetian church in 1149, granted a greater role for the patrician *populus* in his election of 1148. A document of 1152 records the institution of an oath of office, sworn by Morosini and his successors before the "populus Veneticus."<sup>129</sup> In keeping with this state of affairs, the doge's sword-bearer, representing the exercise of temporal authority, is depicted in the mosaic in the midst of a group of patricians who may be viewed as the *sapientes*, the representatives of the *populus*.

The interpolation of such a complex political message at this point in the narrative of the translation is commensurate with the seminal importance of the acquisition of Mark's relics in the reinvention of Venetian history. Once Venice had dedicated itself to St. Mark, the possession of his relics came to justify both the spiritual authority of the patriarch of Grado and the temporal authority of the doge. Mark's posthumous presence in Venice sanctioned the transfer of apostolic authority from his old see at Aquileia to the new patriarchate of Venice-Grado. Likewise, from the eleventh century on, the doge was invested with his office in the name of Mark at the high altar of the basilica hallowing his relics.<sup>130</sup>

#### *V. The Crypt of the Basilica Patriarcale, Ulrich II, and the Renewal of the Apostolic Tradition at Aquileia*

Aquileia's response to the elevation of Grado in 1155 recalls the events of Poppo's patriarchate. Only a year after his consecration, Patriarch Ulrich II of Treffen (1161–82) again attempted to subject Grado by military force with the backing of the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>131</sup> As in the ninth century, the Venetians repulsed the Aquileian invaders; taken prisoner in the siege, Ulrich was forced to pay a humiliating tribute

<sup>127</sup>Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 244, records the concord between the patriarch and the new doge, its approval by Pope Eugenius, and the sealing of the pact between the Dandolo and Polani families with the marriage of the patriarch's nephew Andrea to the daughter of Naymerius Polani. The concord was also cited as one of Domenico Morosini's chief achievements on his epitaph. See Marin Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi*, ed. G. Monticolo, in RISS, XXII.4 (Città di Castello, 1900), 237.

<sup>128</sup>Hubach, "Pontifices, Clerus: Populus, Dux. . ." ms., 13 ff. Demus, *The Church*, 50–51; idem, "Gesellschaftsbild," 94; G. Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Brossen Rats*, Kieler Historische Studien 33 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 81–88. On the contrary R. Cessi, "L'investitura ducale," *AttiVen* 126 (1967–68), 251–94, esp. 289–91, affirms that the "consilium sapientum" originated much earlier.

<sup>129</sup>Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi*, ed. G. Monticolo, 235, n. 2b: "Igitur ego, Dominicus Maurocenus Dei gratia Venecie, Dalmatiae atque Chroatie dux sacramentum facio et eodem modo universo Anconitano populo iuro, sicut ab exordio mei ingressus iuravi cuncto communi (sic) Venetie populo, cui quoque populo omnes successores nostri sicut Venetico populo iurabunt in eorum introitu."

<sup>130</sup>Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 159–66; Pertusi, "Quedam regalia insignia," 71 ff; Demus, *The Church*, 47; Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron*, 63 ff; Cessi, "L'investitura ducale," 284–86.

<sup>131</sup>See P. Paschini, "I Patriarchi d'Aquileia nel secolo XII," *Memorie Storiche Forgiuliesi* 10 (1914), 113–81.

to the doge. While his military campaign ended in disaster, Ulrich's diplomatic efforts did eventually bear fruit. By the late 1160s, partly at the bidding of Eberhardt of Salzburg, he had entered into communion with the legitimate pope, Alexander III, from whom he received the *pallium* and the office of papal legate.<sup>132</sup> After restoring his see to communion with Rome, Ulrich participated in the *Pax Venetiae* of 1177, and for his role in this reconciliation between pope and emperor was rewarded with the definitive recognition of Aquileian primacy by pope, emperor, and the patriarch of Grado, Enrico Dandolo.

Aquileia's restored patriarchal dignity is amplified pictorially in the crypt of the Basilica Patriarcale (Plan 5; Fig. 28). On stylistic grounds alone, these wall paintings may be ascribed to the last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>133</sup> The decoration of the crypt reflects Aquileian aspirations to the prestige of Late Comnenian Byzantine art, then current in the Venetian mosaic workshops. It will also be demonstrated here that the new version of the Marcian legend presented on the ceiling of the crypt responds directly to the Venetian pictorial claims of the mid-twelfth-century, while celebrating the new balance between papal and imperial allegiances, and the definitive recognition of apostolicity of the Aquileian see achieved by Ulrich II in the aftermath of the *Pax Venetiae* in 1177.

All of the pictorial versions of the Marcian tradition previously examined established a physical connection with the relics of Mark or his disciple Hermagoras. Both apse programs of Aquileia and Venice include inscriptions documenting the relics buried beneath the high altar for which they form a backdrop. The Pala d'Oro adorns the high altar itself and the translation cycle in the Cappella San Clemente appears to be organized in such a way as to place the reception of the relics over the site commemorated as the evangelist's first resting place in Venice. Perhaps the most profound connection between relics and pictures is made in the crypt of Aquileia. Here, the foundation narrative for the spiritual church of Aquileia adorns the vault of the crypt that contained the relics of Hermagoras and Fortunatus at the very foundation of the physical church building.

The Aquileian narrative assumes a very different configuration from its Venetian predecessors (Plan 5).<sup>134</sup> No less than twenty-four episodes are illustrated, of which only the first seven involve Mark; the balance of the cycle narrates the ministry and passion of the local martyrs, Hermagoras and his deacon Fortunatus. In contrast to the Veneto-Byzantine convention of placing narrative in continuous horizontal registers on the haunches of a vault, here the narrative is divided into individual framed images bounded by decorative borders, and is oriented along the longitudinal axis of each aisle to face the viewer entering at the west end of the crypt. The cycle forms a complete circle around the apse-like hierarchy of single figures displayed in the three core panels of the central vault: Christ enthroned between archangels; the Virgin and Child in Majesty; Hermagoras and his disciples, Fortunatus and Cyrus of Pavia. It thus translates into narrative

<sup>132</sup>A document of 24 March 1169 confirming the possessions of Gurk in the market of Aquileia, gives Ulrich the title, "Dei gratia scete Aquilegensis ecclesiae patriarcha et apostolice sedis legatus." Cited in ibid., 132.

<sup>133</sup>Dale, "The Crypt," 180–249; D. Giuffetti & E. Belluno, *Aquileia: Gli Affreschi dell Cripta* (Udine, 1976); J. Kugler, "Byzantinisches und Westliches in den Kryptafresken von Aquileia," *WJKg* 26 (1973), 7–31; C. Morgagni-Schiffrrer, "Gli affreschi medioevali della Basilica Patriarcale," *AntAltAdr* 1 (1972), 323–48.

<sup>134</sup>The only detailed discussions of the iconography of the Aquileian cycle are Kugler, "Kryptafresken," 118–53 and Dale, "The Crypt," 104–53. For the text of the *Passio*, see above note 8.

action the completely hierarchical composition of the eleventh-century Popponian apse of the sanctuary above.

The first of the cycle's four "chapters" narrates the foundation of the Aquileian church by Mark. The essence of Aquileia's claim to apostolicity is prominently displayed in the central bay of the hemicycle and the ceiling panel above it (Figs. 29 and 30). In the ceiling panel, Peter commissions Mark to preach the gospel to Aquileia by handing him the *baculum* or pastoral staff. The accompanying inscription claims him as the city's patron saint: "City of Aquileia, behold the good patron sent to you."<sup>135</sup> In the lunette below, on either side of the central window, Mark heals and converts the leper Athaulf to Christianity and then baptizes him. It is no accident these scenes interrupt the feast cycle at this point on the central axis, for it was intended that the acts encapsulating the apostolic foundation of the spiritual church at Aquileia should stand out from the rest of the hagiographic cycle. At the same time, the visual interpenetration of christological and hagiographic realms underlines the role of the patron as intercessor between the city and Christ.

The second part of the cycle, moving eastward along the right aisle vault, documents in a dense narrative sequence the canonical establishment of the metropolitan see at Aquileia.<sup>136</sup> The people confront Mark to provide them with a "pastor" at the time of his departure (Fig. 31); with his consent, they elect Hermagoras (Fig. 32), whom Mark takes to Rome to be consecrated by Peter (Fig. 33). The election is apparently not free from the intervention of secular authority, though: a princely figure, dressed in elegant dappled stockings and a patrician chlamys leads Hermagoras forward from the back of the crowd to be vetted by Mark.

This episode is absent from the Venetian cycles. It is however, extremely important for the Aquileian version of the legend, because it establishes the canonical election of Hermagoras prior to his consecration as bishop. No mention is made of a prince in the textual sources and this may be interpreted as an allusion to the role of the Western emperor in the investiture of clerics. The Chapter of Aquileia was granted free episcopal election under Charlemagne,<sup>137</sup> but the imperial authorities from the north continued to exercise the right to propose their own candidates. The Aquileian church, for its part, consistently elected partisans of the German emperor, who frequently supported anti-popes, and it was not until the late 1160s that Patriarch Ulrich II restored communion with the "orthodox" papacy under Alexander III. Even after Emperor Frederick Barbarossa made his peace with the same pope at Venice in 1177, he insisted on the right to confirm episcopal elections, and this state of affairs is reflected in the Election of Hermagoras.<sup>138</sup> However, the overseeing authority of the church is also represented by Mark. Serving as an official witness here, he conveys the candidate to Rome in the subsequent scene for his consecration by Peter (Figs. 33 and 34).

<sup>135</sup> Barely legible today, the Leonine hexameter can still be clearly read in its negative image in an early twentieth-century photograph from the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, C10339: "URBS AQ(U)ILEIA BONUS TIBI MITTITUR ECCE PATRONUS."

<sup>136</sup> Seven scenes illustrate a mere twelve lines of the *Passio* text. Cf. *AnalBoll* 2 (1883), 312, ll. 3–15.

<sup>137</sup> See the diploma issued by Charlemagne to Patriarch Paulinus on 4 August 792 in MGH, *Diplomata Karolinorum*, I (1906), no. 174, 233–34.

<sup>138</sup> On Frederick Barbarossa's interventions in episcopal elections, see R. Benson, *The Bishop Elect* (Princeton, 1968), 284–91.

The Consecration of Hermagoras by Peter is given special prominence in terms of visibility and size (Figs. 34 and 36), for this episode establishes the legitimacy of the Aquileian succession. Here, as in the Cappella San Pietro, Peter bestows the *baculum* upon Hermagoras, who is already vested in episcopal attire and wears the *pallium* signifying his metropolitan dignity. The consecration is then confirmed by his own Aquileian church, whose clergy receive him at the city gate (Fig. 35). This triumphal procession resembles the reception of Mark's relics on the Pala d'Oro (Fig. 14). In two additional, poorly preserved scenes, Hermagoras preaches at Aquileia (Fig. 36) and ordains priests to evangelize Trieste and other cities of the patriarchate (Fig. 37), making him indirectly the overseer of those dioceses.<sup>139</sup>

The third part of the *vita*, displayed at the west end of the ceiling, is a mini-*Passio* of Hermagoras, depicting his trial and torture by the Roman prefect, Sevastus.<sup>140</sup> The last part of the *vita*, filling the north aisle, comprises a series of conversions and baptisms that lead the pagans to abandon their temples and, consequently, the authorities to put the Christian missionaries to death (Fig. 38). Hermagoras preaches from his cell and converts his jailer, Pontianus, whom Fortunatus baptizes. The demoniac, Gregory, is healed, converted, and baptized with his whole family. Then follow the ordination of Fortunatus as Hermagoras' successor, the healing and baptism of the blind woman, Alexandria. The execution and burial of Hermagoras and Fortunatus (Fig. 39) bring the cycle to a close, at the point where the Crucifixion of Christ appears in the adjacent lunette, thereby emphasizing the mystical union between Christ and the saints achieved through martyrdom. At the same time, these images, like the reception of Mark's relics in Venice, confirm the presence of the patron saints' relics in Aquileia.<sup>141</sup>

The inordinate attention lavished on liturgical acts of consecration, conversion, baptism, and ordination underlines the essentially ecclesiological nature of the legend. Apostolicity is confirmed by the prominence of the Marcian preface to the legend. The legitimacy of the Aquileian episcopate and its metropolitan authority is conveyed in the subsequent dénouement of the legend. The content of the hierarchy of saints depicted in the spandrels supporting the vaults further contributes to the theme: Aquileian bishops and martyrs follow apostles, confessors, and martyrs of the universal church.

Because the crypt hallows the relics of Hermagoras and Fortunatus—not those of Mark—it is only natural that the main emphasis should be placed on the proselytizing and suffering of its first martyrs. These events, which consecrate Aquileia as a *locus sancti*,

<sup>139</sup>In the first scene, Hermagoras appears fully vested at an altar beneath a ciborium, facing a crowd of clerics. The activity of preaching seems to be confirmed by the fragmentary inscription, "HOS VERBIS SACR(IS?) . . . MORAT. . ." The second scene, of which only the lower section is preserved, appears to show a consecration scene at the same sanctuary depicted in the previous episode. Hermagoras, identifiable by the maroon chasuble and *pallium*, stands again at the altar facing a bishop or priest, wearing a chasuble, and stepping forward towards him. The third figure of a deacon stands as witness at the far left. This episode is mentioned in the twelfth-century *Passio* of Hermagoras and Fortunatus, ed. in *AnalBoll* 2 (1883), 312, ll. 14–15: "Et regressus ad urbem Aquileiam ecclesiae suae moderationem composuit, presbyteros et levitas ordinavit, quos ad civitatem Tergestinam et per alias civitates direxit." Cf. Dale, "The Crypt," 128–31.

<sup>140</sup>For illustrations, see Gioseffi and Belluno, *Aquileia*.

<sup>141</sup>The inscription accompanying the Entombment of Hermagoras actually uses the terminology associated with the liturgical deposition of relics—"recondo" for burial and "membra" (= "relics") for the remains: "XP(IST)IC(O)LAE PLANGUNT UBI PATRIS M(E)MBR(A) REC(ON)DUNT." Cf. Dale, "The Crypt," 145–48.

*tus*, are the counterpart to the lengthy translation cycle of San Marco. But even the four scenes that Aquileia shares with the Cappella San Pietro—the Commission of Mark (Figs. 15 and 29), the Healing and Baptism of the leper Athaulf (Figs. 15 and 30), and the Consecration of Hermagoras in Rome by Peter (Figs. 15 and 34)—reveal significant differences in meaning.

The first scene, the Commission of St. Mark (Fig. 29), resembles the enamel from the Pala d’Oro (Fig. 5): it shows Mark as an apostle, carrying his Gospel and holding the pastoral staff bestowed upon him by the seated figure of St. Peter. In the Cappella San Pietro (Fig. 15), on the other hand, the commission of an apostle has been transformed into the consecration of an archbishop. In conformity with representations of the Consecration of Hermagoras later in the same cycle at San Marco and in the Aquileia cycle, Mark is fully vested with *pallium*, chasuble, dalmatic, and miter as he receives the pontifical *baculum* and blessing from Peter. Inscriptions confirm the discrepancies in meaning: the titulus of the fresco records that Mark is sent to Aquileia as its “Patronus,” while that of the San Marco mosaic, “MARCUS SACRATUS,” documents the consecration of the evangelist. Demus found no textual basis for this anomaly, but Mark is already ascribed the first position in the Aquileian succession in the mid-eleventh-century *Chronicon Gradense*.<sup>142</sup> This interpolation promotes Venice’s patron at the expense of Hermagoras, now relegated to second place in the episcopal succession. To further emphasize the point, the Consecration of Hermagoras appears immediately beneath Mark’s in the lower register of the same vault.

Within the common core of Mark’s mission, the Aquileian cycle includes additional episodes to authenticate Hermagoras’ position as protobishop of Venetia et Istria. Three episodes lead up to his consecration: the people confront Mark to request a new pastor upon his departure; they elect Hermagoras in the presence of Mark; Hermagoras journeys to Rome to receive the *pallium* and *baculum* of his metropolitan office from Peter himself; and he is officially accepted by the people of Aquileia at the gates of the city upon his return. While the San Marco cycle summarizes the subsequent mission of Hermagoras in one generic scene of baptism, the crypt cycle gives a detailed account of the expansion of the church under Hermagoras and Fortunatus, to document Aquileia’s role in Christianizing its later metropolitan province.

As I have already hinted, the historical circumstances were particularly propitious for the undertaking of this lavish program of decoration in the aftermath of the *Pax Venetiae* of 1177.<sup>143</sup> Exploiting his unique position as confidant of both pope and emperor,

<sup>142</sup>Here, the episcopal list is given “in numero episcoporum qui a tempore beati Marci usque ad Nicetam. . . .” See Monticolo, *Cronache*, I, 38.30 and 39.6. This assertion is repeated in later sources. Marin Sanudo, writing of the Marcian mission in 1483, affirms that Mark, at Aquileia, “scrisse li evanzelij, . . . et fo fato prothopresul di San Piero ivi. . . .” *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la Terraferma Veneziana nell’anno MCCCCLXXXIII*, repr. (Padua, 1847), 143. Giovanni Candido, in his *Commentarii de i Fatti d’Aquileia* (Venice, 1544), 25 and 71, distinguishes between Mark’s position as “primo patriarca di Aquileia” and that of Hermagoras as “primo patriarca d’Italia,” thus conflating the Venetian and Aquileian strands of the legend; later in the same work he refers to Mark as “nostro primo patriarca.”

<sup>143</sup>The political ramifications of the *Pax Venetiae* for the crypt program have already been recognized in a general way by Gioseffi and Belluno, *Aquileia*, 55–56 and S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado: Storia—Arte—Cultura* (Trieste, 1986), 200. Chiara Morgagni-Schiffner, “Gli affreschi medioevali,” 347–48, argues for Ulrich’s patronage primarily on the basis of the economic gains from the *Pax Venetiae* and accessibility to Venetian craftsmen.

Ulrich succeeded in restoring church unity and the status of his own see.<sup>144</sup> Frederick Barbarossa rewarded him by extending the secular jurisdiction of the patriarchate previously granted by Emperor Otto III.<sup>145</sup> Alexander III confirmed the Aquileian patriarch's right to wear the *pallium*—symbol of the exercise of metropolitan authority—and his jurisdiction over sixteen bishoprics, including those contested in Istria.<sup>146</sup> The basis for these special rights in Aquileia's apostolic tradition is established in the preamble of the papal bull of 1177:

Granted that the love of all the apostles is equal, and all accepted the same power of binding and loosening, yet, according to the word of the Blessed Leo, just as a certain distinction of dignity is preserved among them, so it is granted to one to preside over the others. And certainly in the same way, the Church of God is made in the dignity and diversity of its offices, and for the manifestation of more important ministries are established more important people, both so that they might be distinguished by the privilege of their dignity and might have broader care than others. Truly it is agreed that the Church of Aquileia is one of the worthier and nobler Western churches to have existed since ancient times, and which has shone forth in the excellence of its dignity and is known to adhere faithfully and with devotion to the Holy Roman Church. And thus the Apostolic See has always very carefully preserved the rights and dignities of the same (Aquileian) church, and has favorably honored the prelates of the same, and it is accustomed to admit most willingly their just requests. Therefore, Venerable Brother in Christ, Patriarch of Aquileia, to you, and through you to the Holy Church of Aquileia, . . . we concede, following the example of our predecessor of blessed memory, Hadrian, the power over sixteen bishoprics . . . with Metropolitan authority.<sup>147</sup>

In this passage, Alexander III recalls the apostolic origins of his own authority and that of other privileged metropolitans such as Aquileia, citing the precepts of his venerable predecessor, Leo the Great. This illustrious fifth-century pontiff was among the first to adumbrate the principle that the organization of the church hierarchy should be dictated not so much by the political importance of a given city, but by its connection with an apostle.<sup>148</sup> Rome stood at the top of the hierarchy, consecrated by the preaching and martyrdom of Peter there. Alexandria, whose church was founded by Mark the Evangelist at the behest of Peter, and Antioch, another foundation by Peter himself, were ranked highest among the metropolitans of the Eastern church. Thus, Leo had used the absence

<sup>144</sup>On Ulrich II, see Paschini, "I patriarchi d'Aquileia," 113–81, esp. 113–32.

<sup>145</sup>Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 66–68.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., 65–66; Migne, PL, CC, 1283–1284. On the *pallium*, see discussion above, p. 68 and note 74.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., 65B–D: "Licit omnium Apostolorum par esset dilectio, et omnes ligandi, et solvendi eandem acceperint potestatem, juxta verbum tamen Beati Leonis velut quaedam servata est juxta eos distinctio dignitatis, et uni datum est, ut caeteris praesideret. Inque eundem utique modum in ecclesia Dei officiorum facta est, dignitatumque diversitas, et ad majora ministeria exhibenda majores sunt statutae personae, quae et praerogativa dignitatis eminerent, et aliarum curam ampliorem. Unam vero de dignioribus, et nobilioribus Ecclesiis Occidentis ab antiquis temporibus Aquilejensem constat Ecclesiam extitisse, quae et excellentia dignitatis emicuit, et Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae fideliter et devote noscitur adhaerere. Unde et Apostolica Sedes eidem Ecclesiae semper jura, et dignitates suas conservavit attentius, et Praelatos ipsius propensius honoravit, et justas postulationes eorum benignius admittere consuevit. Eapropter Venerabilis in Christo frater Aquilejensis Patriarcha, tibi et per te Sanctae Aquilejensi Ecclesiae, . . . ad exemplar praedecessoris nostri bonae memoriae adriani Papae potestatem super sexdecim Episcopatus . . . Metropolitico jure concedimus."

<sup>148</sup>F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, DOS 4 (Cambridge, 1958), 70 ff.

of an apostolic foundation to refute the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which proposed to recognize the primacy of Constantinople in the East. Writing to the emperor Marcian, he argued that Anatolius should be content with his favored status as patriarch of an imperial city: “Let him not disdain as unworthy the Imperial City which he cannot make into an apostolic see.”<sup>149</sup> That Alexander III should emphasize the apostolicity of Aquileia and its fidelity to Rome is instructive, because relations between the two sees had been strained for almost a century.<sup>150</sup> Patriarch Henry of Schleyern (1077–84) was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII for supporting Henry IV of Germany in the election of the antipope, Clement III. Ulrich I (1086–1121) was excommunicated by Urban II for receiving the *pallium* from the same antipope. Gerhardt of Premariacco (1122–29) was reconciled with Innocent II after the Concordat of Worms in 1122, but Pellegrinus I (1132–61) presided over the Synod of Pavia, which elected Victor IV as antipope in 1160. It was only in the latter half of Ulrich II’s patriarchate (1161–82) that Aquileia returned to the orthodox fold.

The rewards of orthodoxy were substantial. Alexander III’s bull of 1177 returned to the patriarchs of Aquileia the jurisdiction over the Istrian bishoprics, which had been ceded to Grado by Anastasius IV along with the see of Zara only twenty years before.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, he emphasized the patriarchal status of the see, recalling the special dignities it had enjoyed from ancient times and placing it directly under the protection of Peter and the apostolic see. The greatest of all rewards, however, came three years later with the official resolution of the age-old jurisdictional conflict with the church of Venice-Grado in Aquileia’s favor. The patriarch of Grado, Enrico Dandolo, in the presence of Alexander III and Ulrich II of Aquileia, formally renounced the claims of his church over the Istrian bishoprics as well as the relics and treasures which had been taken from Grado by Popo at the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>152</sup>

The historical moment for the decoration of the crypt can hardly have been more propitious than these last years of Ulrich II’s patriarchate. The narration of the apostolic foundation in the crypt visually confirms the renewal of Aquileia’s ancient metropolitan authority. In response to the claims for the primacy of Mark made in the mosaics of the Cappella San Pietro, the Aquileia cycle carefully distinguishes the functions of apostle/patronus vested in the person of Mark and that of founding bishop performed by Hermagoras. Venetian possession of the apostle’s relics is not denied but merely ignored in this cycle; for it is Mark’s miracles and preaching there, and the mission and death of the founding bishop, Hermagoras, that consecrate Aquileia as the first *locus sanctus* of Venetia.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., 98.

<sup>150</sup>G. C. Menis, *Storia del Friuli* (Udine, 1969), 15–50.

<sup>151</sup>Anastasius IV’s restoration of the Istrian bishoprics to Grado is alluded to in the bull issued from the Lateran in 13 June 1157. Here he renews the privileges of his predecessors, including Leo IX, whose Constitutions recognized Grado as the metropolitan of Venice and Istria. *Codex Diplomaticus Croatiae*, II, 82.

<sup>152</sup>Enrico Dandolo declared in the presence of Alexander III at the Lateran: “... renuntio omni juri acquisto et acquirendo et omnis actionibus tam in rem, quam in personam acquistis et acquirendis quos et quas habeo in nomine meo et Gradensis ecclesiae vel habere possum ego vel successores mei in futurum adversus Uldericum aquilejensem patriarcham et ejus ecclesiam super episcopatibus Istriae et super Thesauris, quos Popo Aquileijensis patriarcha de Gradu asportavit....” Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 1129, and G. Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d’Italia dalla loro Origine sino ai nostri giorni* (Venice, 1851), VIII, 253.

*VI. San Marco in the Thirteenth Century: Venice's Predestination  
as Mark's Chosen People*

After the successful resolution of the dispute over ecclesiastical authority in the Upper Adriatic in 1180, the arguments made against Aquileia in the mosaics of the Choir of San Marco lost much of their *raison d'être* for Venice. By the second half of the thirteenth century, when new versions of the Marcian narrative were composed in the south transept, southwest porch (later the Cappella Zen), and the sopraporte of the west facade of San Marco, Venice had reached a new pinnacle of political and economic power in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>153</sup> As a result of its participation in the Fourth Crusade, Venice consolidated its territories in Istria and Dalmatia and acquired new ones further east as spoils of Byzantium, so that its authority extended theoretically to "one quarter and a half" of the empire; simultaneously, an expanded navy and merchant fleet ensured Venice a dominant position in the trade of the region.

Less interested now in the borrowed history of a local church, Venice revised its mythical history to promote itself as a player on the world stage. The new pictorial narratives forge closer links with the evangelist, asserting Venice's destiny as Chosen People of Mark, the guardians of his relics; but they also insert civic legend within a universal history of the Chosen People, reaching back to Creation and forward to the Second Coming.

The narrative of the *Apparitio Sancti Marci* on the west wall of the south transept is a significant addition to Mark's posthumous, Venetian career narrated in the Cappella S. Clemente (Plan 2.9; Figs. 40 and 41).<sup>154</sup> Based ultimately on the historic *inventio* of the relics of Mark before the consecration of the new basilica in 1094, the *Apparitio* transforms the hagiographic *topos* of recovering relics into a "state miracle,"<sup>155</sup> brought about by the collective prayers of the commune.<sup>156</sup> Since Martino da Canal records the renewal of the feast of the *Apparitio* under Doge Ranieri Zen (1253–68) and the event is twice mentioned during his reign in connection with the defeat of the Genoese at Acre in 1258 and at Trapani in 1266, Demus plausibly argues that this doge was actually responsible both for the innovation of the feast and for the commission of the two mosaics commemorating the miracle.<sup>157</sup>

According to the earliest accounts, Martino da Canal's *Estoires de Venise* and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, the initial resting place of Mark's relics in the first church was kept a secret to all but a few Venetians who died without imparting their knowledge to others.<sup>158</sup> Unable to find the relics, the Venetians, under the leadership of the patri-

<sup>153</sup> G. Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. P. Jones (London, 1961), 86–89; Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, I, 187–244; F. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 36–43.

<sup>154</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 27–44. For Petrus de Calò's text of the miracle, see *ActaSS*, Aprilis, III, 358f.

<sup>155</sup> This is the apt expression of Peyer, *Stadt u. Stadtpatron*, 14.

<sup>156</sup> On the historical core of the *Apparitio* legend, see R. Cessi, "L'apparitio Sancti Marci dal 1094," *NAVen* Series 5, 65 (1964), 113–15.

<sup>157</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 27. Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro*, 242, also argues that the shallow eleventh-century form of the cupolae depicted here further confirms that these mosaics antedate that of the Porta di Sant'Alipio: this mosaic, the existence of which is documented by Martino da Canal between c.1267–75, depicts the cupolae with their present raised external shells. It must be cautioned, however, that the upper part of the mosaic has been heavily restored.

<sup>158</sup> Canal, *Estoires de Venise*, pt. II, ch. LX, ed. Limentani, 219; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, trans. by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger as *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (London, 1941), I, 241–42.

arch, fasted for three days and processed around the city. While the patriarch celebrated mass on the third day, a stone fell from the pier to reveal the hiding place of the relics. The *Annales venetici breves* and the mosaics themselves connect the event more specifically with the completion of the present church.<sup>159</sup>

In contrast to the economic narrative and terse tituli of the twelfth-century mosaics, the *Apparitio* image and its accompanying text aim for a documentary precision commensurate with the function of *inventio* to confirm the continuing presence of the saint in his community. A highly visible inscription records three phases of the miracle: “For three days the people fast and pray to the Lord; the stone (pillar) opens up; then they take up the saint and lay him out.”<sup>160</sup> Within each image, throngs of witnesses from different branches of Venetian society heighten the veracity of the event: doge, counselors, patriarch and clergy, patrician men and women with their children. The setting is no longer rendered as a simple stage prop to the side as in the earlier mosaics, but as a recognizable cross-section of San Marco, complete with its five domes, galleries, and recently acquired liturgical furnishings.

The *Preghiera* or prayer for the recovery of the relics is set against an east-west section of the basilica, with the two transept domes shifted to the longitudinal axis (Fig. 40). On the right, the patriarch of Grado presides over a mass at the high altar, reciting a prayer from the breviary: “Hear, O Lord, all the supplications of thy people.”<sup>161</sup> Behind him appear a large group of prostrate clergy, and, standing in the Gospel pulpit, the doge—prominently labeled “DUX”—with a group of patricians probably portraying his procurators. Additional groups of patricians and their wives bent in prayer fill the nave.

The miraculous apparition itself is the subject of the second panel (Fig. 41). To document the church more fully, the mosaicists have provided a different section of the church cut on the north-south axis through the transept. The mosaic is also oriented so that the miraculous reliquary pier stands in the right-hand corner immediately opposite the actual “pilastro del miracolo.” Once again, the patriarch and clergy appear in the forefront to witness the opening of the pier containing Mark’s relics. Then follow the doge in the company of four patricians, and another group of men, women, and children of the patrician class.<sup>162</sup>

A third scene, the *Collocatio*, which depicts the deposition of the newly discovered relics, appears on the eastern spandrel of the southwest arch in the tribune of the adjacent crossing pier (Plan 2.10; Fig. 42). Although the current composition and its counterpart on the opposite side depicting Constantine and Helen with the True Cross (Plan 2.11; Fig. 43) date only to the mid-seventeenth century, it is likely that both replaced medieval images of the same subjects. Leaving aside stylistic modifications, the iconography of both compositions is essentially medieval; thus, these mosaics would appear to conform to edicts issued by the Procuratoria from 1566 on mandating the preservation

<sup>159</sup> H. Simonsfeld, ed., *Annales venetici breves* in MGH, *Scriptores* (Hanover, 1833; repr. New York, 1963), XIV, 70.

<sup>160</sup> “P(ER) TRIDUT (=TRIDUUM) PLEBS IEIUNAT D(OMI)N(U)MQ(UE) PRECANTUR PETRA PATET S(AN)C(TU)M MOX COLLIGIT E(T) COLLOCAN(TUR).”

<sup>161</sup> EXAUDI O(MNE)S D(OMI)NE POPULI SUPPLICATI(ONE)S.”

<sup>162</sup> The identity of the crowned youth standing with the group of noblewomen has been much debated. Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 30, convincingly proposes Philip de Courtenay, the son of Baldwin II (1237–61), who was given to Venetian nobles as security for a loan and brought to live in Venice between 1248 and 1261.

of the original iconography and inscriptions of any mosaics replaced within the basilica.<sup>163</sup> In addition, the *Collocatio* is actually alluded to in an inscription over the main panel of the *Apparitio*, and a Relic of the True Cross had recently been miraculously saved from the treasury fire of 1231.

Once the portraits of Constantine and Helen are accepted as iconographically authentic, a further pictorial argument justifying Venetian claims on Mark emerges. The recovery and hallowing of the relics of the True Cross by Constantine and Helen provide a precedent for the doge's miraculous *inventio* and continued custody of the relics of Mark. Such a parallel would have been particularly poignant at a time when the doge was simultaneously promoting the *Apparitio* and the survival of relics of the True Cross, the Blood of Christ, and the Head of John the Baptist during the treasury fire of 1231.<sup>164</sup> Seeking to have the latter event officially recognized as a miracle, Doge Zen wrote his ambassadors in Rome on 30 May 1265 to request that they inform the pope. The doge specifically mentioned the hallowed precedent of St. Helen translating these relics to Constantinople from Jerusalem to justify their later translation to Venice. He further claimed that their preservation from the fire was evidence that Christ himself had wanted these relics to be brought from Constantinople to reside together with those of Mark.<sup>165</sup> What is more, the same doge probably commissioned the low-relief plaque commemorating the miracle, set into the exterior east wall of the treasury along the passageway leading from the Palazzo Ducale into the south transept.<sup>166</sup>

As for the specific circumstances that motivated Doge Zen to commission this pictorial addendum to the earlier Mark cycles, it is significant that the *Apparitio* is twice mentioned in connection with Venetian military victories under him. Moreover, Martino da Canal's contemporary chronicle constantly attributes Venetian victories to the intervention of St. Mark. The mosaics, then, which demonstrate the continuing presence of Mark's relics in Venice, must also have been intended to serve as a kind of *ex voto* to the saint—both in thanksgiving for the past victories over the Greeks, the Genoese, and the Pisans, and for future ones. Indeed, Debra Pincus' interpretation of the reliquary relief as an assertion of Venetian confidence in the future, following their loss of Constantinople in 1261, might well be extended to include the *Apparitio*, for both the relics of Christ and those of Mark were part of Venice's divine insurance of future prosperity.<sup>167</sup>

These group portraits provide a particularly appropriate vehicle for defining the bonds that tie Mark and the people of Venice, while emphasizing the special role of the

<sup>163</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, I, 10–11. On the iconography of Constantine and Helen, see A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la vraie Croix*, Archives de L'Orient chrétien, VIII (Paris, 1965), 217–25.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 66 and D. Pincus, "Christian Relics and the Body Politic: A Thirteenth-Century Relief Plaque in the Church of San Marco," in *Interpretazioni veneziane*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), 39–57.

<sup>165</sup> "Vestrae prudentiae duximus presentibus declarare, quod cum noviter in festo beate Ascensionis Domini Sacrae Reliquiae de ligno Crucis Sanctae, Ampulla de vero Sanguine Christi et vertice Beati Joannis baptistae more solito ostensae fuissent . . . qualiter dictae Sanctae Reliquiae de Hierusalem, per operam Sanctae Helenae in Constantinopolim fuerunt deportatae, et qualiter Dominus noster Jesus Christus ipsas in Civitate Venetiarum cum corpore beati Marci, Evangelistae sui, voluit collocari. Nec non ingenti miracolo, quod ostendere voluit per ipsas reliquias, cum ab igne, et vastitate intactae erant. . ." Transcribed by Pincus, "Christian Relics," 57.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 39–57.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., esp. 46–49.

doge as his custodian, the “gubernator et patronus” of the saint’s martyrium.<sup>168</sup> The very placement of these state portraits is doubly significant, since the southern transept, in addition to hallowing the historic resting place of Mark, was also the principal axis of ducal movement to and from the palace and housed the pergola from which he was acclaimed to the Venetian people and listened to the mass.<sup>169</sup>

Within a couple of decades of the completion of the *Apparitio* mosaics, Venice’s pre-destination to become the city of St. Mark was ostentatiously promoted in a completely new redaction of the Marcian narrative on the exterior of the basilica (Plan 2.12–13; Plan 6). In a similar fashion to the mid-twelfth-century cycle, this version is divided into two distinct sections, but now the translation of the relics to Venice is given much greater prominence both in terms of the number of episodes and its visibility. While the pre-Venetian career of the evangelist is represented by twelve scenes in the southwest corner of the basilica on the barrel vault of the Cappella Zen, the former Porta del Mar, the translation cycle has been expanded from seven to thirteen episodes, boldly displayed in the sopraporte of the west facade.

Already in the presentation of Mark’s pre-Venetian career on the vault of the Cappella Zen, the emphasis has shifted away from the apostolic mission to focus on Mark’s authorship of the Gospel and his connection with Venice. Omitting Peter’s commission of Mark, the cycle begins in the upper register of the east half of the vault with Mark writing his Gospel at the behest of his spiritual brethren (Fig. 44).<sup>170</sup> This unprecedented prelude to the Aquileian mission is essentially a seated evangelist portrait to which the extra figures of Mark’s brethren have been added. Significantly, Peter, who appears as instigator of the Gospel in the apse narrative (Fig. 3), is deleted here, thereby transferring the initiative to the community of believers. In the second scene, however, Peter does appear to ratify the completed text presented to him by Mark and three companions. According to the inscription, “St. Peter approves the Gospel of St. Mark and hands it over to the church to be read.”<sup>171</sup> The subsequent scene, a generic baptism, is all that remains of Mark’s mission to Aquileia.<sup>172</sup>

The lower register begins with the *Praedestinatio*, a prophecy of the building of Venice around the relics of Mark.<sup>173</sup> Complementing the *Apparitio* as proof of Mark’s presence in Venice, this new episode is documented in an unusually lengthy titulus: “While he was sailing across the area where the church of San Marco now stands, an angel announced that at a certain time after his death, his body would be interred here with great

<sup>168</sup>Cf. Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 31: “It seems that the representation of the doge and the *commune Veneciarum*—that is, the government and its institutions—was inextricably bound up with this cult right down to the end of the Middle Ages.”

<sup>169</sup>Cf. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 199–203; Canal, *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, pt. II, ch. LXXXVII, 248.

<sup>170</sup>The inscription reads: “S(AN)C(TU)S MA(R)C(US) ROGAT(US) A FRATRIB(US) SCRI(P)SIT EVANG(E)LIUM.” For the request and ratification of the Gospel of Mark by Peter, see Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. and trans. by K. Lake (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), I, 143, and II, 49.

<sup>171</sup>“S(AN)C(TU)S PETR(US) APP(RO)BAT EVA(N)G(E)L(IU)M S(AN)C(T)I MA(R)CI ET TRADIT ECCL(ES)IE LEGE(N)DU(M).”

<sup>172</sup>Demus, *The Church*, 184–85.

<sup>173</sup>The earliest textual account is found in Martino da Canal’s *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, II, CLXIX, 340–41.

honor.”<sup>174</sup> In recognition of the city’s maritime identity and the necessity of shipping for its well-being, the *Pradestinatio* replaces Mark and Hermagoras’ journey to Rome on foot, shown in the Pala d’Oro (Fig. 7) and the crypt of Aquileia (Fig. 33), with a sea voyage. As the evangelist and his disciples slumber aboard their ship, protected in the haven of Rialto, an angel tells Mark of his future resting place.

The adjacent Consecration of Hermagoras follows closely the formula used in both the Cappella San Pietro (Fig. 15) and the Aquileian crypt (Fig. 34): Hermagoras, fully vested with dalmatic, chasuble, *pallium*, and miter, receives the *baculum* from St. Peter in the presence of Mark. Here however, Venice explicitly acknowledges Hermagoras as founding patriarch in the inscription: “BEAT(US) PETRUS CO(N)FERT PAT(RI)-ARCHATU(M) AQUILEG(IE) S(ANCTO) HERMACHORE.” The third episode of this register, the healing of a demoniac, may be placed in Pentapolis, since this was the evangelist’s first stop on the way to Alexandria and the subsequent episode is connected with that city.<sup>175</sup> The choice of this generic scene rather than one of baptism or preaching found in the Cappella San Pietro or the destruction of idols represented in the Pala d’Oro cycle, seems justified by the passage from Mark’s own Gospel transcribed on a scroll in the first episode of the Cappella Zen cycle: “IN NOMINE MEO DEMONIA. . . .” (Mark 16:17). The exclusive role of the Word in the healing process, affirmed in the text of the legend, is emphasized by the Gospel book held in Mark’s hand.<sup>176</sup>

The idea of predestination introduced at the beginning of the previous register is echoed at the outset of Mark’s mission to Egypt on the west side of the vault (Fig. 45). The appearance of the angel to Mark at Pentapolis, which was conflated with his voyage in the Cappella San Pietro, now is treated as a distinct episode.<sup>177</sup> The saint’s voyage to Alexandria follows in the next section of the vault, introducing a significant topographical detail explicitly mentioned in the text of the *Acta*, the lighthouse of Alexandria.<sup>178</sup> As in the two previous Venetian cycles, the healing of Anianus is the primary act of Mark’s Alexandrian mission represented.<sup>179</sup>

The remaining three scenes in the lower register of the west side concern Mark’s martyrdom. Mark’s capture during the Easter mass corresponds closely to the centralized composition of the enamel on the Pala d’Oro (Fig. 10).<sup>180</sup> The second scene representing Mark dragged in chains to the Buculi, however, is an innovation.<sup>181</sup> As Demus observes, this is Mark’s true martyrdom according to the *Acta*, and its inclusion here is

<sup>174</sup>“CU(M) T(RA)NSITU(M) FACE(RE)T P(ER) MARE UBI NU(N)C PO(S)ITA E(ST) ECCL(ES)IA S(ANTI) MA(R)CI ANG(E)L(U)S EI NU(N)CIAVIT Q(UOD) POST ALIQUA(N)TU(M) T(EM)P(U)S A MORTE IP(S)I(US) CO(RP)US EI(US) HI(C) HONORIFICE LOCARETUR.”

<sup>175</sup>“S(ANCTUS) MAR(CUS) RECEDE(N)S ROMA PER(GIT) I(N) EGYPT(UM) IBIQ(UE) EIC(I)T DE(MO)NIA ET ALIA M(UL)TA S(I)G(N)A F(E)C(I)T.”

<sup>176</sup>Cf. *ActaSS*, Aprilis, III, 350E.2: “. . . pariter infirmos sanabat, leprosos mundabat, spiritus multos nequissimos daemonum, per gratiam Christi, solo sermone expellebat.”

<sup>177</sup>“ANGEL(US) NU(N)TI(AT) S(AN)C(T)O MA(R)CO U(T) VADAT ALEXA(N)DRIA(M).”

<sup>178</sup>“PERGIT NAVIGIO ALEXA(N)DRIA(M).” For the lighthouse, cf. *ActaSS*, Aprilis, III, 350E.3: “Dehinc etiam revelatum est ei per Spiritum sanctum ad fanum Alexandriae pergere. . . .”

<sup>179</sup>“TRADIT CALCIAM(EN)TU(M) RUPTU(M) SUTO(R)I Q(UO)D CU(M) SUERET VULNERAVIT MANU(M) SUA(M) (ET) S(ANCTUS) MAR(CUS) SANAV(IT).”

<sup>180</sup>“SIRACENI (sic) CELEBRANTE(M) (sic) P(ER)CUCIU(NT) SANCTUM MARCU(M) C(E)LEBRANTE(M) (sic) MISSA(M).”

<sup>181</sup>“HIC CATENATUS TRAHITUR AD LOCA BUE (=C)ULI.”

in keeping with the more pronounced emphasis of this cycle on Mark's Alexandrian career.<sup>182</sup> Another important reason for its representation here is to show precisely where Mark was martyred, buried, and later honored with a martyrium. Furthermore, both scenes evoke the contemporary Crusades by depicting and, in the case of the former, labeling the pagan attackers as Saracens. This part of the cycle concludes as the San Pietro cycle does with the burial of Mark.<sup>183</sup>

The narrative resumes on the west facade immediately behind the Cappella Zen with the *Translatio* (Plan 6.13–16). Although the two cycles are contiguous, it must be recognized from the outset that they could never actually have been viewed in a continuous narrative sequence.<sup>184</sup> As I shall later emphasize, in its original configuration as an entrance porch, the Cappella Zen led the spectator from the Piazzetta directly into the atrium and thence to the interior of the church;<sup>185</sup> thus, anyone viewing the pictorial narrative would be naturally led from Mark's Egyptian mission in the vestibule to the Old Testament narrative of the Chosen People in the atrium. To follow the subsequent narrative of Mark, it is necessary to backtrack from the vestibule into the Piazzetta and around the corner to Piazza San Marco. Unlike the tightly packed narrative enclosed within Cappella Zen, the translation cycle was designed on a monumental scale to be perceived at least in its general lines from a distance, providing a backdrop for the civic ceremonial of the Piazza. This most public advertisement of Venetian possession of Mark's relics was surely also conceived, as Demus aptly puts it, as a form of "title page" to the basilica and its relics.<sup>186</sup>

Sadly, only one of the original compositions survives—that of the Porta di Sant'Alipio. However, the rest of the original decoration, gradually replaced between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, has been carefully deduced by Otto Demus from Gentile Bellini's *Procession in Piazza San Marco* (Fig. 46) and the inscriptions in Giovanni Battista Stringa's edition of Jacopo Sansovino's *Venetia Nobilissima*.<sup>187</sup>

Moving from right to left, following the presumed path the relics took in 829 from the Bacino di San Marco, this cycle begins with the elevation and theft of the relics from Mark's tomb in Alexandria by Tribunus and Rusticus (Fig. 47). Bellini's picture shows four of five original episodes that can be determined on the basis of the medieval inscription recorded by Giovanni Battista Stringa. The right side of the barrel vault depicts the removal of the relics from the tomb beneath the high altar of Mark's martyrium in Alexandria; then, in the lunette, the merchants cover the relics with pork, as Theodore and Stauracius place them in a basket, and further to the left, they carry the relics away to their ship. Of the fourth scene depicting the deception of the Moslem officials, only

<sup>182</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 188.

<sup>183</sup> "SEPELITUR BEAT(U)S MARCUS A XP(IST)I FIDELIBUS."

<sup>184</sup> On the contrary, Michael Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord* (Princeton, 1993), 44, affirms that the "scenes in the south portal and those of the west front together form a continuous cycle that was meant to be read as a single statement."

<sup>185</sup> On the original configuration and function of the Cappella Zen, see Demus, *The Church*, 79–80; G. Perocco and A. Salvadori, *Civiltà di Venezia* (Venice, 1973), I, 144, figs. 159–61; and Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro*, 18, 36–37.

<sup>186</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 187.

<sup>187</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 199–206. The replacement mosaics preserve the principal subject of each bay but reduce or conflate the distinct episodes of each phase of the narrative documented by Bellini and the inscriptions. For illustrations, see *Patriarchal Basilica*, II, 208–209, and Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro*, 333 ff.

one of the inspectors and half of a second figure can be made out at the far left. According to the inscription, the hidden fifth episode would have depicted the embarkation of the relics.

In the second portal (Fig. 48), three out of four episodes can be discerned in Bellini's picture: on the barrel vault, the transfer of the relics from the shore to the ship; in the lunette, the disputation between the Egyptian priest Theodore and the Moslem officials, and the departure of the ship for Venice. The Pharos that introduced Mark's mission to Alexandria in the Cappella Zen (Fig. 45) is portrayed again here at his departure. The fourth scene, the saving of the vessel from shipwreck by Mark, would have been portrayed in the hidden left side of the barrel vault.

Immediately to the left of the central portal of the Last Judgment, the fourth sopravolta depicted only two scenes (Fig. 49). On the right-hand side of the vault, the disembarkation of the relics was probably portrayed in a similar fashion to the Cappella San Clemente scene: two figures at the extreme right of the lunette in Bellini's painting evidently turn in that direction to receive the relic ship. The lunette itself is devoted to the procession of the relics, and, like the version in the Cappella San Clemente (Fig. 26), provides an extensive portrait of the Venetian government and church. The central focus of the lunette, linking the two representative groups of spiritual and temporal authority in Venice, is the bier of St. Mark, borne on the shoulders of two bishops. At the head of the procession to the left, one can discern a thurifer followed by two priests, a crucifer, and a group of six mitered pontiffs. The first of the bishops has reasonably been identified by Hubach as the patriarch of Grado on the basis of his position at the head of the group and his more elaborate gold-dappled vestments. Following the earlier mosaic, the other pontiffs may be identified as the bishops under the jurisdiction of the Venetian patriarch. To the right of the bier, the doge may be distinguished by his cornetto, his gold-trimmed cloak and his position at the center foreground of a group of six or seven laymen. As Hubach has suggested, one additional figure, who stands slightly apart from this group and holds a broad vertical object in front of his right shoulder, probably represents the sword-bearer.<sup>188</sup> Finally, on the left side of the barrel vault, Bellini depicts the goal of the procession: a single-domed structure, inscribed within a single large archway. Demus identified this as the "Theatrum" or public meeting place mentioned in the original inscription recorded by Stringa.<sup>189</sup> However, its resemblance to the architecture of Mark's Alexandrian shrine (Fig. 47) confirms that the first chapel of San Marco is intended: in both cases, we are shown a ciborium marking the altar tomb, set within the interior space of the church, conveyed by a single archway. In this way, Mark's first Venetian martyrium is cast in the image of its predecessor in Alexandria.

The Deposition of the Relics in San Marco depicted over the Porta di Sant'Alipio is the only thirteenth-century mosaic of the facade to survive, and it readily confirms the iconographic accuracy of Bellini's painting (Fig. 50).<sup>190</sup> This episode is usually identified

<sup>188</sup> Hubach, "Pontifices, Clerus, Populus, Dux," 5.

<sup>189</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 201. The original inscription read: "CORPORE SUSCEPTO GAUDENT MODULAMINE RECTO; ET DUCIS, ET CLERI, POPULI PROCESSIO MERI. AD THEATRUM CANTUQUE PLAUSUQUE FERUNT SIBI SANCTUM. CURRENTES LATUM VENERANTUR HONORE LOCATUM."

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Demus, *Mosaics*, II.2, fig. 350.

with the initial *Collocatio* of 828–829, but I will argue below that it represents the dedication of the new Contarini church in 1094. At the center of the composition, the patriarch of Grado, wearing the metropolitan *pallium*, and another cleric carry the relics of Mark through the main portal of the church, while throngs of patrician men, women, and children pour out the side doors raising their arms in acclamation. The doge himself, dressed in full regalia, appears among them to the right to hail the entry of the relics. This mosaic, like the reception of the relics in the Cappella San Clemente, glosses the historical event with contemporary references. The eleventh-century Contarini church is portrayed with its mid-thirteenth-century cladding: the raised outer shells of the cupolae, the mosaics, the marble revetment, and other spoils from Constantinople, including the great gilded quadriga, are all in place.

Demus has argued that the mosaic entails a *double entendre*, with the Deposition of Mark's relics serving as a pretext for the representation of the reception of a thirteenth-century doge following his election.<sup>191</sup> In confirmation, Demus points to the fact that the people appear to have just exited the building and the doge holds a white scroll bound with green cord, which he identifies as the *promissio* containing the ducal oath of office. He goes on to identify the doge as Lorenzo Tiepolo, on the grounds of the aged visage of the man depicted in the mosaic and the coincidence of Tiepolo's reign with Martino da Canal's textual reference to the facade mosaics.

Attractive as this hypothesis may be, it is at odds with the internal evidence of the image and its position within the larger narrative sequence. In arguing that the acclamation of the doge is the main focus of attention, Demus has laid much stock in the perception that the procession of relics “does not seem to arouse much interest”; yet, given the outward movement of the people from the church, their gestures and glances toward the central bier, one can only conclude that they have come out of the church precisely in order to pay homage to the relics as they are brought into the church. The focus on the relics is all the more apparent when it is realized that the curvature of the apse causes the people to surround the bier in actual space. Demus' primary identification of the episode with the initial deposition of the relics in Venice must also be called into question, since that episode was already represented in the previous bay of the facade.

A simpler solution is that the mosaic was intended from the outset to represent the later *Collocatio* of the relics during the dedication of the Contarini church in 1094.<sup>192</sup> Celebrated as an annual civic feast on 8 October, the final entombment of the relics in the new crypt culminated a five-month-long *ostensio* which had begun with the miraculous *inventio* on 25 June. This public manifestation of the evangelist's continuing presence among the Venetians in the state church thus complements the *Apparitio* legend on the interior. It seems hardly coincidental that both episodes display the same cast of characters—patriarch, doge, and patriciate—united by veneration for Mark and set against a detailed portrait of the present church building.

While the doge is not the primary focus Demus has suggested, he is prominently portrayed in conjunction with the relics and church building. Within the context of consecration, the image thus documents the doge's role as *gubernator et patronus* of San

<sup>191</sup> Demus, Mosaics, II, 202.

<sup>192</sup> I am indebted to Debra Pincus for suggesting this line of inquiry to me.

Marco, responsible for the safeguard of the relics of the evangelist as well as the maintenance and embellishment of his shrine.<sup>193</sup> At the same time, the doge owed his authority directly to Mark's relics, for from the time of the construction of the present Contarini church, he was invested with the *vexillum* of St. Mark at the altar containing his relics, and it was in Mark's name that the doge governed and waged wars for Venice. Thus, the inscription reiterates the earlier *titulus* of the apse to confirm that the success of the Venetian government depends on the presence of Mark's relics in this church: "the people deposit this (body of Mark) with worthy praise and honor him with hymns so that he might preserve the Venetians and govern the earth and the sea."<sup>194</sup>

The thirteenth-century redaction of the legend of Mark is as striking for what it omits as for what it includes. Two significant Venetian claims have been deleted from the program of the choir chapels: the consecration of Mark as first bishop of Aquileia and the transfer of the patriarchate to Grado by Pope Pelagius. In this new picture cycle, Venice restores Hermagoras to primacy in the episcopal succession. At the same time, as Demus has already observed, new emphasis is placed on Mark's role as Gospel writer and on Venice's predestination to possess his relics.<sup>195</sup>

It is easy to see the *Praedestinatio* in relation to the facade program as sanctioning the theft and translation of relics to Venice. More specifically, the prophecy of the construction of San Marco in the accompanying *titulus*, is fulfilled in the dedication portrait of the church at the end of the cycle (Fig. 50). Indeed, this connection was later stressed by the placement of a sculptural group of the same subject in the tympanum over the central portal of the facade.<sup>196</sup> The late thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* of Jacopus de Voragine suggests a comparable rationale for the emphasis on Mark as Gospel writer. Paraphrasing a sermon preached by Peter Damian in San Marco two centuries earlier, he professes that "God likewise permitted him (Mark) to come back to Italy after his death, so that the land wherein he wrote his gospel has the honor of guarding his relics"<sup>197</sup> Here is a clear justification for the "return" of Mark to Venice as its native evangelist.

To understand more fully the Venetian preoccupation with predestination in the thirteenth century, it is necessary to examine the Marcian legend within its larger narrative context. As I have already pointed out, the physical placement of the two parts of the Mark cycle does not permit the spectator to view them in a continuous sequence but instead encourages one to move from the south porch into the narthex to follow the narrative from Genesis (Plan 6). In other words, in the thirteenth century the Mark cycle of the south porch would normally have been experienced as a preface to the Old Testament. This biblical narrative occupies the L-shaped "atrium" of San Marco,

<sup>193</sup>Cf. Demus, *The Church*, 44–47.

<sup>194</sup>This is the inscription as recorded by Stringa: "COLLOCAT HUNC DIGNIS PLEBS LAUDIBUS ET COLIT HYMNIS UT VENETOS SERVET TERRAQUE MARIQUE GUBERNET." The discrepancy between this inscription and the current one *in situ* is explained by Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 201, as the product of later restorations.

<sup>195</sup>Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 188.

<sup>196</sup>See Demus, *The Church*, 15 and 184, figs. 66 and 101.

<sup>197</sup>Trans. by G. Ryan and H. Rippenger, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (New York, 1969), 239. For Peter Damian's sermon, see *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, ed. G. Lucchesi, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LVII (Turnhout, 1983), 70–71.

bounding the west and north sides of the nave.<sup>198</sup> Begun in the southwest bay with the Creation cupola as early as the second quarter of the thirteenth century, work on these mosaics was protracted until the mid 1280s, following a hiatus of some thirty years between the first two bays of the north branch. The completed cycle is the single most extensive narrative element of the thirteenth-century program: it contains no less than 110 distinct episodes from Genesis together with an additional twenty episodes from the Book of Exodus.<sup>199</sup>

The first of five major sections depicting the Creation and Fall unfolds in three concentric friezes of the cupola over the southwest bay of the atrium, and the story of Cain and Abel follows in the supporting lunettes of the same bay. Noah is the hero of the second section of the narrative, encompassing the two barrel vaults flanking the shaft above the central west portal known as the “Pozzo.” The third section, comprising the cupola and lunettes in the penultimate bay of the western arm, portrays Abraham’s career, ranging from the first covenant to the circumcision of Isaac. At the intersection of the north and west branches of the atrium is inaugurated the lengthy Joseph cycle. The first cupola takes us from Joseph’s dream to Jacob’s lament. The second bay records the patriarch’s early career in Egypt; it originally culminated in the north conch with his appointment as governor over all Egypt. The third bay shows Joseph in his new role, providing for the famine and receiving his brothers. Finally, the last bay of the atrium, adjacent to the entrance into the north transept, is devoted to Moses. This cycle spans the life of the prophet from his placement in a basket in the Nile to the miracles in the desert, following the Exodus from Egypt.

A comprehensive interpretation of the Old Testament cycle cannot be attempted here.<sup>200</sup> Instead, I will focus on three aspects of the cycle’s composition that forge typological links between Venice’s hagiographic history and the narrative of the Chosen People in Genesis and Exodus: first, the theme of “Zwei-Brüder Theologie”—the transfer of inheritance to the younger son in Genesis; second, the emphasis on the Egyptian sojourn of the Chosen People in the north branch of the atrium; and third, the role of Joseph as model ruler.

The densely illustrated Genesis sequence of the atrium is unparalleled in Byzantine church decoration, which inspired the main lines of the interior program of San Marco. The desire to advertise Venetian possession of a great treasure from Mark’s “hometown” of Alexandria may well have motivated the faithful replication of Genesis iconography from the fifth-century Cotton Genesis manuscript.<sup>201</sup> But this does not explain the overall shape of the narrative (Plan 6). The selection of episodes follows instead a theme that was dear to Early Christian nave programs in South Italy: the “Zwei-Brüder” theology,

<sup>198</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 143–84.

<sup>199</sup> For a complete photographic documentation, see Demus, *Mosaics*, II, plates, 107–331.

<sup>200</sup> For a comprehensive treatment, see Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 72–177.

<sup>201</sup> On the relationship between the atrium cycle and the Cotton Genesis miniatures, see K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986), 18–20; K. Weitzmann, “The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures,” in Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 105–42; E. Kitzinger, “The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration,” in *The Place of the Book in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 108 ff; and H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, Studies in the Warburg Institute 32 (London, 1971), 53–57. Buchthal proposed that the Venetians chose an Alexandrian model to complement their possession of Mark’s relics.

whereby the blessing or inheritance is transferred from the eldest son to a younger one.<sup>202</sup> This theme is highlighted in the first bay by the story of Cain and Abel, in the third part with the narrative of the Philoxenia—the Annunciation of Isaac's birth, and finally, in the subsequent bays with the Joseph story, beginning with the dream forecasting his rule over his elder brothers.

In contrast to the densely packed narrative of Creation in the cupola, the pace of narrative is slowed in the supporting lunettes to highlight the election of Abel. The story jumps from the Labors of Adam and Eve at the end of the cupola cycle to the begetting and birth of the younger brother in the upper register of the eastern lunette, above the San Clemente door.<sup>203</sup> Then, in the lower register Abel appears at the favored right hand of God to have his offering of the first lamb accepted, while the elder Cain's offering of the first fruits is rejected on the opposite side of the altar. The accompanying inscription offers an explicit Christological interpretation: "Christ accepts Abel but rejects Cain and his offerings."<sup>204</sup>

Similarly, on the opposite flank of the atrium, the lunette above the San Pietro portal grants prominence within the larger Abraham cycle to the Annunciation of Isaac's birth to Sarah. This episode communicates that the younger son is to inherit the promise to Abraham, depicted in the first scene of the cupola immediately above.<sup>205</sup> The fulfillment of the prophecy is stressed by the omission of all the episodes between the Philoxenia and the nativity of Isaac. An inscription again affirms the identification of the Christian Church with the younger son: "Abraham stands for Christ, who, after repudiating the Hebrew people, joined the Gentiles and became one with them."<sup>206</sup> This parallels St. Paul's interpretation of the two sons of Abraham in Gal. 4:21–31: there, Ishmael and Isaac are seen as allegories, respectively, for the Jews who are slaves of the Old Law and the Gentiles who have become the new people of promise.<sup>207</sup>

The inscriptions of prophets in the pendentives supporting the Abraham cupola further justify a transfer of inheritance from the Jews to the Gentiles. The Jews are characterized as a fallen and rebellious people by the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel: "I have nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against me" (Isa. 1:2), and "I will make your tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth for they are a rebellious people" (Ezek. 3:26).

<sup>202</sup> See B. Brenk, *Die Mosaiken von St. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 35–49 and N. Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (Toronto, 1981), 180–83.

<sup>203</sup> There is no reason to assume as Weitzmann does in "The Genesis Mosaics," 117, that the left-hand scene of procreation is the "Begetting of Cain" rather than that of Abel who is presented to his mother in the second scene. The curse of childbirth brought upon Eve at the time of the Expulsion is already alluded to in the Labors scene, where the seated Eve displays a swelling belly; while the begetting of the second, favored child would more reasonably be associated with the positive sentiments of the inscription in the mosaic, "CRES(C)ITE MULTIPLICAMINI (ET) REPLETI TERAM."

<sup>204</sup> "CRISTUS ABEL CERNIT KAYN (ET) SUA MUNERA SPERNIT."

<sup>205</sup> As Weitzmann, "Genesis Mosaics," 125, rightly points out, the San Marco cycle omits a potential fifteen episodes from Genesis 11 in order to start the narrative with the important event of God's promise to Abraham.

<sup>206</sup> "SIGNAT ABRAM XPM QUI GENTIS SPRETOR HEBREE TRANSIT AD GENTES ET SIBI IUNXIT EAS."

<sup>207</sup> The key passage of Paul's allegorical interpretation comes in 4:28, "Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise."

The north branch of the atrium is dominated by the story of another successful younger brother, the patriarch Joseph, narrated in the first three of four bays. Just as the Abraham cycle commences with a vision of predestination, establishing God's promise to future generations, and just as Mark's mission and afterlife are foretold in the Dream at Pentapolis and the *Praedestinatio* (Figs. 44 and 45), so the life of Joseph begins with the dream by which he learns of his destiny to rule over his elder brothers.<sup>208</sup> In this case, it is not so much the individual episodes which enhance the message of transfer but rather the inordinate attention paid to the Joseph narrative as a whole in contrast to other parts of the Old Testament. That so much more attention should have been lavished on this younger son is not entirely surprising. As Otto Demus and Antonio Niero have already remarked, Joseph takes on special meaning in Venice because of his association with Egypt, the land of St. Mark.<sup>209</sup> Of greater importance, however, is the fact that the history of the Chosen People concludes with the Exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land, just as Mark's relics were destined to be brought out of Egypt by the Venetians to their own "Promised Land."

Such an association of a saint's life with the Old Testament is by no means unprecedented in Western church decoration. Indeed, it can be carried back to the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, of which the Early Christian program, still visible in the thirteenth century, narrated Paul's mission on the right wall of the nave opposite an Old Testament cycle extending from Creation to Exodus.<sup>210</sup> However, a closer analogy for the combination of Old Testament and translation is found in the early thirteenth-century fresco program in the crypt of Anagni Cathedral, near Rome, which served during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a papal retreat.<sup>211</sup> Here, an Old Testament cycle focusing on the vicissitudes of the Ark of the Covenant in 2 Samuel appears in cupola friezes very much like those in the atrium of San Marco, while the translation of the relics of St. Magnus to Anagni and his posthumous miracles run in a parallel direction in the middle register of the central eastern apse and on the west wall respectively. M. Q. Smith has convincingly argued that the journey of the ark and the miracles it performs for the Chosen People against its enemies should be seen as a type for the translation of the miracle-working relics of Magnus from the unworthy pagans in Veroli to the blessed people of Anagni. I would propose that a similar thematic juxtaposition is intended at San Marco: the translation of the inheritance from one brother to another and the journey of the Chosen People out of Egypt toward the Promised Land function as a type for the translation of the relics from pagan Egypt to Venice as a new, worthier home for Mark. Moreover, just as the miracle cycle is included at Anagni to establish the continuing presence of its patron saint in the crypt, so the Venetians depict in mid-thirteenth-

<sup>208</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, pl. 245.

<sup>209</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 97–98; A. Niero, "The Cycle of the Atrium," in *Patriarchal Basilica*, I, 195–202.

<sup>210</sup> See H. Kessler, "'Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum': Saint Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium," in *Italian Church Decoration in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, ed. W. Tronzo (Bologna, 1989), 119–46, esp. 121–26; L. Eileen, "The Frescoes from the life of St. Paul in San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome: Early Christian or Mediaeval?" *Revue de l'art canadien/Canadian Art Review* 12 (1985), 251–59.

<sup>211</sup> G. Matthiae, *Pittura Romana del Medioevo*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1988), II, 121–34, 291–94; F. W. N. Hugenholtz, "The Anagni Frescoes—A Manifesto: A Historical Investigation," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 41 (1979), 139–66; M. Q. Smith, "Anagni: An Example of Mediaeval Typological Decoration," *PBSR* 20 (1965), 1–47.

century mosaics of the interior, the previously undocumented *Apparitio* or miraculous reappearance of the relics of Mark at the time of the consecration of the Contarini church.

A third connection between the Mark cycle and the Old Testament is established on the northern axis of the atrium from the exterior lunette of the Porta di Sant'Alipio to the Exodus from Egypt. The extensive narrative of Joseph's career has already been cited as an obvious prototype for Mark's mission to Egypt. But Joseph's specific status as pharaoh's overseer would also seem an appropriate prototype for the doge as vicar of St. Mark. Already in the fourth century, Eusebius and Ambrose praise Joseph as a model of good government in the church, and in the sixth century, Theodoric's prefect, Cassiodorus, describes Joseph in his *Variae* as a model prefect on account of his clairvoyance, wisdom, and providence.<sup>212</sup> In the thirteenth century, a similar conception motivated the description of Frederick II's mouthpiece and High Court Judge, Piero della Vigna, as "a second Joseph to whom as a true interpreter the mighty Caesar . . . has handed over the direction of the kingdoms of the earth."<sup>213</sup>

My interpretation of Joseph as model for the doge is supported by other references to rulership in this branch of the atrium. Personifications of virtues at the apex of each arch preceding the three Joseph cupolae embody an abbreviated *speculum principis*. Justice appears with scales on the first arch; Charity, on the second, bears the inscription, "Charity is the source of all good"; and finally, Hope, preceding the third cupola, displays a text from Psalm 40: "Blessed is he whose trust is in His Lord."<sup>214</sup> All three of these virtues of rulership are alluded to in an inscription addressed to the doge in the apse of the Cappella San Clemente: "Delight in justice . . . the poor with the widow, the ward and orphan, O Doge, hope (to find) their patron in you; be compassionate to all of them."<sup>215</sup>

The exercise of Justice, the principal function of the ruler in medieval political theory,<sup>216</sup> is highlighted by an inscription in the western lunette of the Angolo di Sant'Alipio, linked by Demus with Frederick II's triumphal gate at Capua. It reads: "Let them enter with confidence, for all those who recognize their sins will be forgiven."<sup>217</sup> If, as Demus

<sup>212</sup> M-D. Gauthier Walter, "Joseph, figure du Roi?" *CahArch* 38 (1990), 25–36; G. Montanari, "Giuseppe l'Ebreo della cattedra di Massimiano, Prototipo del buon governo," *FR* 127/130 (1984–85), 305–22, esp. 310–311.

<sup>213</sup> E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194–1250*, trans. E. O. Lorimer (New York, 1931), 524.

<sup>214</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, pl. 263, col. pl. 53 and pl. 283. For the iconography of virtues and vices, see A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939; repr. Toronto, 1989).

<sup>215</sup> The entire inscription reads: "Dilige iustitiam, sua cunctis reddito jura; pauper cum vidua, pupillus et orphanus, o Dux, te sibi patronum sperant; pius omnibus esto. Non timor aut odium, vel amor, nec te trahat aureum, ut flos casurus, Dux es, cineresque futurus. Et velut acturus, post mortem, sic habiturus." Cited in Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 204. For the depiction of virtues in ruler portraits, see Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 32–37.

<sup>216</sup> See, for example, J. Wollesen, "A Pictorial *Speculum Principis*: The Image of Henry II in Cod. Bibl. Vat. Ottobonensis lat. 74, fol. 139v," *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 85–110. For Frederick II's conception of the emperor as "fountain of Justice," see Kantorowicz, *Frederick II*, 228–61, and idem, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theory* (Princeton, 1957; repr. 1982), 97–143. More generally, on the divinely ordained role of the State to maintain justice, see R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West, V: The Political Theory of the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1928), 25–35, and W. Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 15 ff.

<sup>217</sup> Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 92–93.

believes, the sixteenth-century Judgment of Solomon in the same bay replaces an original medieval composition, then the theme would be represented in yet another way. His suggestion that justice was actually administered in this space cannot be proven, but ducal use of this space is confirmed by the presence of the tombs of doges Marino Morosini and Bartolomeo Gradenigo in the apsidal niches to the north of the first two Joseph bays.

Finally, it is notable that the doge himself appears as custodian of Mark's relics at the intersection of the translation cycle on the exterior with the beginning of the Joseph cycle in the northwest corner of the atrium (Fig. 50). As we have already seen, the mosaic over the Porta di Sant'Alipio traces the doge's authority to the custody of Mark's relics. Directly behind this portal, in the north branch of the atrium, the translation of the Chosen People to Egypt under Joseph and then out of Egypt toward the Promised Land under Moses would seem intentionally to prophesy the foundation of Venice as the Chosen People of St. Mark following the translation of his relics from Alexandria.

Up to this point, I have discussed the predestination theme in terms of Mark and the Old Testament. But the election of Venice as a Chosen People is also established in the overall program of the west facade through the juxtaposition of the *Translatio Marci* with the New Testament. The historical narrative begins with the marble reliefs of Mary and Gabriel, which are paired across the central axis in the spandrels between the two sets of lateral portals to form an Annunciation.<sup>218</sup> This feast is particularly significant within the context of the state church, for the thirteenth-century chronicler, Martino da Canal,<sup>219</sup> placed the city's foundation on the Feast of the Annunciation, and as early as the eleventh century, Venetian ceremonial marked the beginning of the year on Annunciation Day.<sup>220</sup> Mark's translation was also intertwined with the Annunciation in the city's ritual calendar: during the feast of the *Translatio* on 31 January, the Annunciation was dramatically reenacted by two monks.<sup>221</sup>

The soteriological narrative, initiated with the Incarnation, is clearly spelled out in the feast cycle spanning the four mosaic lunettes of the upper story (Fig. 46).<sup>222</sup> Christ's human death on Good Friday is represented by the Deposition in the far left-hand lunette. Christ's personal triumph over death and the promise of resurrection for all mankind are represented in the two subsequent lunettes: the righteous of the Old Testament are raised from Hell in the Anastasis, while the "saints" of Christ's own time, whose "graves were opened," according to Matt. 27:52, rise from their tombs as Christ emerges from his own in the Resurrection. Finally, the promised entry of the elect into Heaven is prepared by the Ascension, portrayed in the last of the four lunettes.

Significantly, the four Christological scenes correspond to primary feasts of the liturgy of San Marco in which the doge played a prominent role: Good Friday, Holy Satur-

<sup>218</sup> Demus, *The Church*, 132–33 and figs. 42 & 43.

<sup>219</sup> Martino da Canal, *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, I.IV, 6: "Ce veul que vos sachés que cele bele cité que l'en apele Venise fu faite en l'an de l'incarnation de nostre seignore Jesu Crist. ccccxxi."

<sup>220</sup> Cf. E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 70–71.

<sup>221</sup> Canal, *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, II.XCII–CXVI, 252–61; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 142–43.

<sup>222</sup> Once again, the original thirteenth-century compositions are no longer extant and we must rely upon the record of Gentile Bellini. See Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 194–99, and pls. 342–46.

day, Easter, and Ascension Day (the “Sensa”).<sup>223</sup> The mosaics are also arranged so that the Marcian narrative dovetails the Christological cycle. The translation begins directly beneath the Ascension with the recovery of the relics in Alexandria, and it seems hardly coincidental that the *Elevatio* of the relics is aligned with Christ’s ascent into heaven. Likewise, the Deposition of Mark, commemorating the dedication of the Contarini church in the Porta di Sant’Alipio, is paired with the Deposition of Christ. This juxtaposition identifies the martyr with Christ in the same way already observed on the interior in the vicinity of the Pilastro del Miracolo. But in this case, the inscription with its plea that the saint preserve Venice, makes explicit the local patron’s parallel role to Christ’s within the broader scheme of salvation history.

The soteriological sequence culminates in the mosaic of the Second Coming in the central portal.<sup>224</sup> Here, Christ appears within a mandorla flanked by four angels, while the dead rise from their tombs below in response to two trumpet-blowing angels. The position of the Venetians receiving the relics at the dexter side of the judge suggests the divine favor granted to them through the translation of the relics.

If Michael Jacoff and Renato Polacco are correct in their reconstruction of the second-story tympanum, immediately above the Second Coming, even the famed bronze horses may have played a role in this scheme of salvation history.<sup>225</sup> Polacco was the first to propose that the five Byzantinizing reliefs depicting Christ and the four enthroned Evangelists—now placed on the north facade—originally formed a single composition immediately above the quadriga.<sup>226</sup> Jacoff has developed the idea further to associate evangelists and horses with the *Quadriga Domini*, a potent medieval metaphor for the spreading of the Gospel to the four corners of the world under the unifying guidance of the Lord Christ.<sup>227</sup> Now, in light of what has been said concerning the soteriological program of the facade, the *Quadriga Domini* at its summit would serve further to emphasize the role of Venice’s evangelist, Mark, and by extension, the role of his chosen city in the pursuit of that “mission” in the contemporary world. That mission was foreshadowed by the patriarchs of the Old Testament, prophesied again by Mark’s vision of *Praedestinatio* and fulfilled with the rededication of the city to Mark upon the arrival of his relics.<sup>228</sup>

<sup>223</sup>Cf. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 74–78, 212–30; Fasoli, “Liturgia a ceremoniale,” 274–76, 283–84; and A. Pasini, “Rito antico e ceremoniale della basilica,” in *La basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, ed. C. Boito (Venice, 1888), XIII, 65–71. A similar customization of the feast cycle to emphasize the ruler’s participation in the public liturgy is proposed by Henry Maguire for the mosaic program of Nea Moni: “The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading,” *DOP* 46 (1992), 205–14.

<sup>224</sup>Demus, *Mosaics*, II, 198–99.

<sup>225</sup>Jacoff, *Horses of San Marco*, esp. 12–41; R. Polacco, “San Marco e le sue sculture nel Duecento,” in *Interpretazione veneziane*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), 59–75, esp. 72, and idem, “I bassorilievi marmorei duecenteschi raffiguranti il Cristo e gli Evangelisti murati sulla facciata settentrionale della basilica di San Marco,” *ArtVen* 32 (1978), 10–17 and fig. 15.

<sup>226</sup>The thirteenth-century tympanum was dismantled shortly after 1415, when work was begun by Paolo delle Masegne on the Gothic sculpture crowning the facade. See Polacco, “I bassorilievi,” 16.

<sup>227</sup>The currency of the metaphor in Venice is attested to by the text of Peter Damian’s first *Sermo in festivitate sancti Marci evangelistae* delivered in 1041 or 1042 in San Marco, ed. G. Lucchesi, *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LVII (Turnhout, 1983), 70–71. Cf. Jacoff, *Horses of San Marco*, 21–26.

<sup>228</sup>Similarly, Jacoff, *Horses of San Marco*, 48, observes that the horses may be connected with the mission theme of Pentecost, displayed immediately behind the horses in the west dome.

Predestination and election, the notion of Venice's special place within the scheme of salvation—these abstract concepts are more difficult to set within a specific historical context than the quasi-legal proofs of Venice's ecclesiastical inheritance documented in the mid-twelfth-century Marcian narrative of the choir chapels. However, it cannot be denied that much of the impetus for this lavish display came from the Conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent occupation of the Eastern Empire until 1261. The acquisition of material wealth—gold, precious marbles, sculptures, mosaic tesserae, and other spoils—certainly provided the means for executing the new program, the sheer ostentation of which must have been perceived as an *ex voto* to St. Mark for the success of the Impresa.<sup>229</sup>

At the same time, Venice's bold pictorial statement of its divinely sanctioned destiny in the world resonates with the themes of two Venetian chronicles of the later thirteenth century: Martino da Canal's *Estoires de Venise* and the fragmentary chronicle of Marco, written in 1292. Though less explicit than contemporary writers extolling the crusading French as a new Chosen People, both these chroniclers break new ground in Venetian historiography by placing the city's recent past within the broader context of sacred history.<sup>230</sup> I would further propose that the mosaics, like these chronicles, were intended to bolster Venetian pretensions to world power following its assumption of control over “one quarter and a half” of the Byzantine Empire in the Fourth Crusade.

The Chronicle of Marco offers a telling parallel for the coupling of Venetian history with the Old and New Testaments. Like the atrium cycle, the chronicle commences with the Creation of the World.<sup>231</sup> It then narrates sacred history in five further eras, culminating with the advent of Christ; Book II, devoted to the founding of the Christian Church, highlights the mission and translation of St. Mark, while an incomplete third book promises to recount the city's more recent history. It is in this last book that Venice's destiny to become a world power is made explicit. Venice's inheritance of the mantle of Constantinople is suggested by the conspicuously isolated record of the foundation of Constantinople immediately before that of Venice,<sup>232</sup> and at the very end of the manuscript, a transcription of the treaty of the partition of the empire among the Venetians, Flemish,

<sup>229</sup>For the deployment of spoils from the Fourth Crusade, see most recently *ibid.*, 3–11, 73–83. For Martino da Canal's statement regarding the embellishment of San Marco, see Conclusion, below.

<sup>230</sup>On the French as the Chosen People, see J. Strayer, “France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King,” in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. T. Rabbs and J. Siegel (Princeton, 1969), 3–16. The ramifications of the theme in pictorial narrative have most recently been discussed by D. Weiss in “The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting,” *Arte medievale* 2nd series, 6 (1992), 15–38, especially 27–33. For Venetian historiography, see A. Carile, “La cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV,” in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI*, ed. A. Pertusi, Civiltà veneziana, Saggi 18 (Florence, 1970), 75–126.

<sup>231</sup>Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. It. XI.24 (=6802). The contents are summarized in G. Cracco “Il pensiero storico di fronte ai problemi del Commune veneziano,” in *ibid.*, 45–74, esp. 66–73, and E. Paladin, “Osservazioni sulla inedita cronaca veneziana di Marco,” *AttiVen* 128 (1969–70), 429–61. An excerpt from Bk. I, fols. 4v to 7r is transcribed by Carile in “La cronachista veneziana,” 121 ff.

<sup>232</sup>Cronaca di Marco, 37r–38v, transcribed in Paladin, “Osservazioni,” 444, note 43, together with its source, the *Annales venetici breves*.

and French is blatantly sanctioned by Constantine's alleged prophecy of the city's fall to the Latins.<sup>233</sup>

Martino da Canal's chronicle begins by establishing Venice's foundation on the anniversary of the Incarnation, but instead of placing Venetian history within a biblical framework, he sanctifies the very actions of Venice by characterizing its people as the chosen servants of the Roman church. Just as Mark was Peter's chosen spiritual son and evangelist,<sup>234</sup> so Venice, in the eyes of Canal, was the favored son of the papacy acting out the Church's mission of redemption in the world.<sup>235</sup> From the outset, he claims that he wants to record for posterity "all the glorious victories that the Venetians had won in the service of the holy church" and he goes on to affirm that all the Venetian people and their doges are "perfect in the faith of Jesus Christ and never transgress the commandments of the holy church."<sup>236</sup> The close relationship with the papacy is established by Canal at the time of the Second Crusade, when the pope sends his legate to Doge Domenico Michiel requesting aid from him as a father would from his son.<sup>237</sup> The bond is sealed at the convocation of the *Pax Venetiae* in 1177, when the pope grants the doge his ceremonial umbrella, "ponce que je ne trouai authre fil de sainte Yglise fors que toi."<sup>238</sup> With the ground thus prepared, it is no surprise that Doge Enrico Dandolo embarks upon the Fourth Crusade "au servise de sainte eglise," and, conveniently omitting the pope's excommunication of the Venetians for conquering Zara on the way, the chronicler has the pope sanction the stopover in Constantinople in order to install Alexius IV on his rightful throne. Furthermore, the battle is won against the perfidious Greeks with the aid of St. Mark, and "one quarter and a half of the Roman empire" is granted the Venetians in accordance with the wishes of the pope himself.<sup>239</sup>

Canal's Prayer to St. Mark in Book II nicely summarizes the links between *Praedestinatio* and Venice's world mission proposed in the pictorial program of the thirteenth century. He begins not with Aquileia but with the vision of Mark at the future site of Venice, the Evangelist's "propre leu." He speaks of Mark's lion as symbol of the power of God, carried abroad on the banners of the Venetian navy. He then recalls Mark's mission to Alexandria at the behest of Peter and the translation of his relics back to their "propre leu" in Venice. Finally, affirming again that Mark really did come back to Venice, Canal prays to the saint to maintain the peace, concord, and good will that reigned for his ancestors, who "offered much great service to the holy church. . . ."<sup>240</sup>

<sup>233</sup> Marco, 78r-79v; transcribed by A. Pertusi in "Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli (1204) nel cronista veneziano Marco (c. 1292) e le loro fonti bizantine," *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 3 (1979), 13-46 repr. in A. Pertusi, *Saggi Veneto-Bizantini*, ed. G. B. Parente (Florence, 1990), 315-48.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Petrus Damianus, *Sermo in Festivitate Sancti Marci Evangelistae*, I, ed. Lucchesi, 66-67, 11. 125 ff.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Cracco, "Il pensiero storico," 52-64 and esp. 55: "la fedeltà alla Chiesa, una fedeltà cieca, spesso eroica, sempre sapiente, diventa per il cronista fondamento stesso della storia veneziana. . . ."

<sup>236</sup> *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, I.I, 2-4.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., I.XIX, 32. These are the words of the legate: "Sire, a vos m'envoie monseignor l'apotoile, con per doit envoier a son fis."

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., I.XXIX, 40.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., I.XLIII, 50-62.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., II. CLXIX, 342.

*VII. Conclusion*

The pictorial narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist produced at Aquileia and Venice from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries reveal a dynamic process of inventing and reinventing a sacred past that contrasts sharply with the apparent conventionality of medieval hagiography. While the initial adoption of an apostolic patron was by no means original, Aquileia and Venice constantly reformulated their shared history in response to each other and to their own changing political needs. In the course of three centuries, Mark was transformed from the founder of the Aquileian church into the most visible symbol of the Venetian state, the leader of a new “Chosen People” in the service of the Roman church.

The earliest version of Mark’s Adriatic mission in the apse of Aquileia Cathedral (1031) proclaims in a hierarchy of single figures Aquileia’s apostolic succession and the right to patriarchal authority. Portraits of the imperial household lend political sanction to Popo’s ecclesiastical coup against Venice. The second and third versions of the Marcian mission executed around 1100 in San Marco represent Venice’s appropriation of Aquileian apostolicity to bolster its title to the relics of Mark.

Executed only fifty years later, the fourth pictorial redaction of the Marcian legend in the choir chapels of San Marco represents a much more polemical statement vis-à-vis Aquileia and Byzantium. In the Cappella San Pietro, Mark replaces Hermagoras as first bishop of Aquileia. The Venetians also interpolate a pictorial document into the Aquileian history of Mark: Pope Pelagius presents Patriarch Helias of Grado with a text confirming the translation of the see of Aquileia to Grado in the sixth century, which also justifies the elevation of the Venetian patriarch over the churches of Istria and Dalmatia in the mid-twelfth century. The second half of the legend in the Cappella San Clemente provides the first comprehensive pictorial account of Venice’s acquisition of Mark’s relics. The importance of the *Translatio* in defining Venice as an autonomous city-state is underlined in the last episode, the Reception of the Relics. Placed above the alleged site of Mark’s first Venetian tomb, this group portrait traces the authority of the Venetian patriarch and doge to possession of the relics.

Returning to Aquileia for the fifth pictorial version of Mark’s mission, we see the venerable patriarchate renew its foundation legend at the tomb of its founding bishop in celebration of the definitive recognition of its metropolitan dignity by Pope Alexander III, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and Venice itself in 1181. In contrast to the latest Venetian version of events, Mark’s role as apostle is distinguished from that of Hermagoras as first bishop. The designer of the program has naturally ignored Mark’s post-Aquileian career in order to emphasize the mission and martyrdom of the local patrons who consecrated Aquileia as a *locus sanctus*.

The last major medieval revision of the Marcian legend in the thirteenth-century mosaics of San Marco identifies Mark more closely than ever with the Venetian commune. Here, the Aquileian core of the legend is greatly diminished because the rationale for its initial invention—the justification of the Aquileian patriarchate—has ceased to be an issue. Instead, Venice trumpets its destiny as the Chosen People of Mark and instrument of the Church on the world stage.

The case of St. Mark has broader implications for our perception of visual history. Far from being shackled to individual texts, pictorial inventions constitute independent arguments and proofs. Particularly on the Venetian side, pictorial innovations like the Consecration of Mark as first bishop of Aquileia, the *Praedestinatio* and *Apparitio*, or the coupling of the Venetian foundation narrative with that of the Chosen People of the Old Testament, actually precede textual versions of the same arguments.

As Patricia Fortini Brown and Alberto Limentani have recognized, Venice's own chronicler, Martino da Canal, ascribes such authority to visual history in his *Estoires de Venise*.<sup>241</sup> He begins Part Two with a general statement about the role of pictures and texts in transmitting the "deeds and undertakings" of our ancestors: "We see writings and paintings with our eyes, so that when one sees a story painted or hears a naval or land battle recounted or reads about the deeds of his ancestors in a book, he seems to be present at the scene of battle. And since events live thanks to paintings and oral accounts and writing, I have undertaken to occupy myself with the deeds that the Venetians have accomplished in the service of the Holy Church and in honor of their noble city."<sup>242</sup> Earlier in Part One, he applies his theory specifically to the decoration of San Marco. After recounting the translation of Mark to Venice, he cites the mosaics on the facade both to confirm the veracity of his narrative and to justify the basilica's continual embellishment: "And if anyone of you wishes to verify that events transpired as I have recounted them to you, come and see the beautiful church of San Marco at Venice and look at the front of the beautiful church, because this story is recorded there just as I have recounted it. . . ." As if commenting on the dedication portrait of the newly refurbished basilica of the thirteenth century (Fig. 50), he continues, "when they constructed such a beautiful church, the Venetians decided that it should be embellished every year and for ever, and thus they do."<sup>243</sup>

The preservation of the narratives of St. Mark in the frescoes of the Basilica Patriarcale at Aquileia and the mosaics of San Marco in Venice almost a millennium after their inception proclaims the ongoing significance of pictorial narratives in defining civic institutions. After the demise of the Venetian republic in 1797, the religious narrative of Venice remained vital as the ducal basilica was restored and transformed into the seat of the new Venetian bishop. The painted narrative of Mark and Hermagoras likewise sur-

<sup>241</sup> P. Fortini Brown, "Painting and History in Renaissance Venice," *Art History* 7 (1984), 263–94, especially 264–66; *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, foreword, ccxci–ccxciii; A. Limentani, "Martino da Canal, la basilica di San Marco e le arti figurative," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), II, 1177–90, esp. 1177–82.

<sup>242</sup> *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, II.I, 154; trans. in Brown, "Painting and History," 265. Similar arguments for the independent role of pictorial narrative in making history present to the viewer are made by various writers throughout the Middle Ages: they are ultimately based on Gregory the Great's famous letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles. See H. L. Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985), 75–91, and L. Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227–51.

<sup>243</sup> *Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani, I.XII, 20–22: "Et se aucun vodra savoir la vérité tot ensi con je le vos ai conté, veigne veoir la bele yglise de monsignor saint Marc en Venise et regarde tres devant la bele yglise, que est escrit tote ceste estoire tot enci con je la vos ai contee . . . Et lors en avant que li Venesiens orent fait si bele yglise, si loerent que ele fust chascun an amendee a tosjors mais, et ensi le font."

vived the suppression of the patriarchate of Aquileia in July 1751, eventually to serve again as the backdrop for the relics of its founder Hermagoras, returned to Aquileia in 1968.<sup>244</sup> More recently, Pope John Paul II has nominated a titular patriarch of Aquileia, thus vindicating the argument which the pictorial narrative of the crypt was designed to sustain eight centuries ago.

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<sup>244</sup>The most recent discussion of the suppression of the Aquileian patriarchate is G. Fedalto, "La fine del patriarcato di Aquileia," *AntAltAdr* 38 (1992), 115–36. On the return of the relics of Hermagoras to Aquileia, see S. Tavano, "La cripta deve riaquistare l'antica e originaria funzione," *Voce isontina* 22 (Luglio, 1969), 2.

#### Abbreviations of Frequently Cited Works

- AntAltAdr* = *Antichità altoadriatiche*.  
*La basilica* = *La basilica di Aquileia* (Bologna, 1933).  
*Bibliotheca Sanctorum* = *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1961–72).  
Dale, "The Crypt" = Thomas Dale, "The Crypt of the Basilica Patriarcale at Aquileia: Its Place in the Art and History of the Upper Adriatic," Ph.D. Diss. (The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1990).  
Demus, *The Church* = Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History—Architecture—Sculpture*, DOS 6 (Washington, D.C., 1960).  
Demus, *Mosaics* = Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 2 vols. in 4 (Chicago, 1984).  
Egger, "Der Heilige Hermagoras" = Rudolf Egger, "Der Heilige Hermagoras: Eine kritische Untersuchung," *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 134 (= *Carinthia I*) (1947), 16 ff; 137 (1948), 208 ff.  
*Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani = Martino da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. Alberto Limentani, in *Civiltà veneziana, Fonti e Testi* 12 (Florence, 1972).  
Kugler, "Kryptafresken" = Johanna Kugler, "Die Kryptafresken der Basilika von Aquileia: Studien zu einer Monographie," Ph.D. Diss. (University of Vienna, 1969).  
Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien* = Walter Lenel, *Venezianisch-Istrische Studien* (Strassbourg, 1911).  
McCleary, "Note" = Nelson McCleary, "Note storiche ed archeologiche sul testo della 'Translatio Marci,'" *Memorie Storiche Forogliuliesi* 29 (1933), 223–64.  
Monticolo, *Cronache* = *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. Giovanni Monticolo (Rome, 1890).  
Muir, *Civic Ritual* = Richard Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).  
Polacco, *Basilica d'Oro* = Rento Polacco, *San Marco: La basilica d'Oro* (Milan, 1991).  
*Patriarchal Basilica*, I = Otto Demus et al., *The Patriarchal Basilica in Venice. San Marco, I: The Mosaics. The History. The Lighting* (Milan, 1990).  
*Patriarchal Basilica*, II = Maria Andaloro et al., *The Patriarchal Basilica in Venice. San Marco, II: The Mosaics. The Inscriptions. The Pala d'Oro* (Milan, 1991).  
Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall* = Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall, Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic*. (= *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 5 (Rome, 1974)).  
Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* = Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 10 vols. (Venice, 1720; repr. Liechtenstein, 1970).